

Hommage de l'auteur à M. Doble.

S·NECTAN·S·KEYNE
AND·THE·CHILDREN·OF
BRYCHAN·IN·CORNWALL



SAINT MABYN & KING BRYCHAN
FROM STAINED GLASS WINDOWS AT
SAINT NEOT'S CHURCH. CORNWALL.



S. NECTAN, S. KEYNE AND THE CHILDREN OF BRYCHAN IN CORNWALL

BY THE

Rev. GILBERT H. DOBLE, M.A.,

Author of

"S. Mawes," "S. Euny," "S. Budoc," "S. Winwaloe,"
"S. Corentin," "S. German," "S. Melaine," "S. Gwinear,"
"SS. Mewan & Austol," "S. Feock," "S. Petrock,"
"SS. Docco & Kew," "S. Melor," "S. Carantoc,"
"S. Senan," "S. Nonna," "A John Wesley of Armorican
Cornwall," "S. Brioc," "SS. Sithney and Elwin,"
"S. Selevan," "Four Saints of the Fal," "S. Neot,"
"S. Cuby," "S. Clether," "S. Tudy," etc.

*Vicar of Wendron and Examining Chaplain to the
Lord Bishop of Truro.*

With Notes on the cult of S. Nectan by

CHARLES HENDERSON, M.A.

(Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford)

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By the REV. GILBERT H. DOBLE

THE first visitor to Cornwall to write a record of his tour which has come down to us was fortunately a student specially interested in hagiography. William of Worcester came to Cornwall in 1478, and has left a detailed (though, alas! very brief) diary of his journey. He visited all the chief religious houses in Cornwall, and never failed to examine the Kalendars and Martyrologies preserved in their churches. He also made enquiries in different towns in which he stayed about the Celtic saints he found honoured in the parishes he passed through. "On Wednesday the 16th day of September," he tells us, "I was at Trewro, and in the convent of the Friars Preachers I saw their martyrology, and we continued our journey as far as Markysew near Michael's Mount, and got there at night. On Thursday the 17th day of September, being the Feast of St. Lambert, I heard Mass at Myghell-mont. In the afternoon of the said Thursday I rode on to the town of Penryn." During this September morning William had a glance at the liturgical treasures of the monastery on the Mount. He notes that "in the Kalendar of the Church of Mont Myghell" he found that Saint Wilfrid was honoured on the morrow of St. George, St. Petroc on 4th June, St. Hilda on 25th August, St. Hermes (the patron saint of the chapel of Marazion) on 28th August, St. Berinus the Bishop on 4th September. Then he adds

"St. Nonnita (Sanctus Nonnita) the mother of St. David lies at the church of the village of Altarnon, six miles from Launceston, where St. David was born.¹

Brekannus in the parts of Wales² a King by faith and conversation, etc., begat of Gladewys his wife, 24 sons and daughters, and they were called by these names:

Nectanus.
Johannes.

Yse.
Morwenna.

¹ Between this and the following sentence the MS. has ten lines of notes about Prosody.

² *Walliarum*.

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Église catholique
en Finistère

Document numérisé en 2021

Endelient.
Menfrede.
Dilit.¹
Tedda.²
Maben.
Wencu.
Wensent.
Marwenna.
Wenna.
Julliana.

Wymip.
Wenheden.
Cleder.
Kery.
Jona.
Helye.
Kananc.
Kerhender.
Adwenhelye.
Tamalanc.

All these sons and daughters were afterwards saints and martyrs or confessors, each leading a hermit's life in Devon or Cornwall; for as among all those by whose merits of life and miracles of virtues the Cornish or Devonian Church was illuminated the blessed Nectan was the eldest, so he was greater than all the others in worthiness of life and was more excellent by the splendour of the miracles he wrought.

There was in the furthest parts of Wales³ a man who was by rank a prince, distinguished by his faith and worthiness of life, named Brekannus, from whom the province itself [where he lived] derives the name, which it retains to this day, of Brekannok: this Brekmannus therefore, before he had begotten of his wife Gladewys either son or daughter, went into Ireland, leaving his wife and all that he had, for he feared that if he remained with his wife he would beget some offspring of her, which might hinder him from freely serving the Lord. He remained therefore in Ireland 24 years, intent on good works; but afterwards, wishing to visit his native land, he returned to Wales, where he found his wife still living. After some time, as God had fore-ordained, though man had not proposed any such thing himself⁴, he knew his wife, of whom he afterwards begat 24 sons and daughters. Seeing the power of God which no man can resist, he said, "Now hath God punished me, in that I vainly sought to oppose myself to the disposition of His will. For because I unlawfully absented myself from my wife for 24 years lest I should beget offspring, He hath given one child for every year of unlawful continence to me, who now after 24 years have begotten 24 sons and daughters of the same wife."⁵ Now the aforesaid 24 sons and daughters, whom the aforesaid Brekannus begat of his wife, Gladewys, are called by these names, Nectan, etc.

And the venerable man Nectan, while he was making his way through certain woody districts in order to explore [the country]⁶ was found by these robbers (*sic*) in the place which to this day is called

New Town¹; and there a church is built in his honour. On the 15th of the kalends of July he was beheaded, and he took up his head with his own hands and carried it about the distance of half a stadium² as far as the fountain where he lived, and there laid it down besmeared with his blood and sweat (?) on a certain stone, and bloodstained traces of this murder and miracle still remain on that same stone.³

Now the question at once arises, why should this story of St. Nectan and list of King Brychan's children be found at St. Michael's Mount? The names we have just read are without exception the names of saints honoured in North Cornwall and Devonshire, a very considerable distance from the Mount. I think, if we look carefully at William of Worcester's Journal, we shall come to the conclusion that he did *not* (as has too readily been assumed) get his information about the Children of Brychan at St. Michael's Mount, but only copied it out there, while waiting for the tide. The only book he mentions as having been seen by him at the Mount is a *kalendar*, and the story of Brychan and Nectan, together with the note about "Sanctus Nonnita," cannot have been copied from a kalendar, nor even, I think, from a martyrology, but probably formed a separate document like the three Welsh Brychan genealogies we shall deal with in a moment. Further, the story of Nectan is immediately followed by notes about King Henry II and Strongbow, and about Tintern Abbey, which William had visited twelve days before, and other miscellaneous information. Clearly he did not find all this at the Mount, but copied it from previous notes. Presently he adds some notes he had made at Launceston, which he had visited on his way to the Mount, but did *not* visit on his return journey. He gives the names of six saints he had found "in the church of Lan-ceston," and it is very significant that the first is that of *St. Nectan*. Turning back to his description of his stay at Launceston, we find that he spent "a whole day and night there," and "talked about (*sic*) Dr. Ewen and certain chronicles." Next day he rode across the Moor to Bodmin, where he "talked with Brother Mowne, etc." Here, surely, we have the source of his information about North Cornwall

¹ i.e. New Stoke, where the parish church is.

² a stadium = 600 feet.

³ By kind permission of the Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, I have had this page of Worcester's MS. rotographed, and so have got his list of Brychan's children correctly printed for the first time.

¹ 2 Another hand has written against these names *Delyan* and *Tetha*.
³ William evidently had intended only to analyse the text he read, but now he changes his mind, and gives it *in extenso*.

⁴ Our author refers to the proverb, "Man proposes, but God disposes."

⁵ This is Mr. Henry Jenner's reading of this difficult passage.

⁶ Text corrupt.

saints. This also explains why, in the sentence about St. Nonnita (*not* a saint honoured in West Cornwall) he says that Altarnon is "six miles from *Launceston*." I think we may safely assume that it was either at Bodmin or Launceston, probably in the "certain chronicles" he read at the latter place, that he saw and copied the stories about Brychan and Nectan.

In the first half of the XVIth century another scholarly traveller, Leland, visited Cornwall. He must have seen the same document as William of Worcester, as he gives us the following extract :

"From the Life of St. Nectan.

Brochannus, a prince (*regulus*) of Wales, from whom the province of Brochannoc took its name, begat of Gladwis his wife twenty-four sons and daughters, of whom these are the names : Nectanus, Joannes, Endelient, Menfre, Dilic, Tedda, Maben, Wencu, Wensent, Merewenna, Wenna, Juliana, Yse, Morwenna, Wymp, Wenheder, Cleder, Keri, Jona, Kananc, Kerhender, Adwen, Helie, Tamalanc. All these sons and daughters were afterwards saints, martyrs or confessors in Devon and Cornwall, leading the life of a hermit."

We do not know *where* Leland found the "Life of St. Nectan." The passage quoted is not in his *Itinerary*, but placed without indication of its source in the fourth volume of his *Collectanea*, p. 153.

We will compare this list with William of Worcester's list later on. It will help us considerably to identify some of the saints whose names in the latter list are so distorted as to be unrecognizable. I will content myself for the present by pointing out that, besides Leland, we have two other sources of evidence for the vitality of the Brychan tradition in Cornwall in the XVIth century. We have, first, the traditional stories about the saints of North Cornwall collected by the Elizabethan writer Nicholas Roscarrock, which I will give in full when I come to deal with these saints individually. We have, secondly, the evidence of the ancient stained glass windows in the north aisle of St. Neot's church in Cornwall. In one of these windows is a picture of King Brychan, crowned and seated, holding in the fold of his robe ten of his children. In the adjoining window, which bears the date 1530, we find St. Mabena, who, as we have seen, was one of the children of Brychan.

We see, then, that by the XVth century at latest there was a tradition that the patron saints of the majority of the Cornish parishes between the Camel and Hartland Point,

and of several North Devon parishes, formed a group, and that they were all the "Children of Brychan," the legendary founder of the little kingdom of Brecknock in central Wales. We turn to Wales, and we find there the same story of a King Brychan who had a large family of saintly children. But we are puzzled in the extreme to find that the Welsh lists of Brychan's children differ entirely from the Cornish list we found in William of Worcester, hardly a name being the same.

We are faced, then, with a problem. What do these stories of Brychan and his numerous offspring mean, and why are the Cornish and Welsh traditions about Brychan so different ? It is one of the most obscure and difficult questions in Cornish history, and at present we have not the requisite knowledge to answer it. I can only hope to offer some suggestions, which may perhaps help to advance us a little way towards the solution of the riddle.

I will briefly analyse the Welsh tradition, and then compare and contrast it with the Cornish.

There are three versions of the Welsh tradition about Brychan and his children. They have recently been published, with translations, and an introduction and notes of the greatest value, by Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans in the "Transactions of the Brecknock Society." The first, which is called *De Situ Brecheniauc*, is a Latin manuscript of about the year 1200, "the Welsh forms and glosses show it to have been copied by some one, who did not understand Welsh, from an earlier MS."¹ The second, called *Cognacio Brychan*, is also in Latin, and dates from about 1650, but must have been copied "from a far earlier manuscript, probably of the XIIIth century." The third is much shorter than the other two, and is in Welsh. It is called *Ach Kynawc*,—"The Pedigree of Cynog, and other Children of Brychan."

The *De Situ Brecheniauc* begins with the words "Brycheiniog first got its name from Brychan." Brychan, it goes on to tell us, was the grandson of Tewdrig, "king of that district." During a spell of cold weather Tewdrig sent his daughter Marchell to Ireland to get a fur garment, in

¹M. Loth says "The oldest form of *Brecheniauc* is *Erocianiauc* (*Annales Cambriae*, under the year 848). In the Cartulary of Quimperlé we find the form *Brochan*. The names contained in the *De Situ Brecheniauc* have reached us in a somewhat corrupt form. As they stand, they are not in favour of the hypothesis that the MS. of 1200 is a copy."

company with 300 men. He thought she might as well get a husband at the same time, and fixed his choice on Anlach, son of Coronac, king of that country. On the journey 100 men died of the cold the first night, and another hundred the next night. The third night they arrived at a warmer place, Porthmawr, and Marchell was able to sail to Ireland with the remaining hundred. On her arrival Anlach received her with joy, and married her. Their first child was called Brychan. While Brychan was still a boy, his mother took him back with her to Wales, and Anlach came, too. Brychan was sent to a chieftain called Drichan to be educated. One day he saw on the bank of the river Yscir a boar, with a stag standing over a fish behind him "which three portended that Brychan in abundance of wealth should be happy." He also saw bees on a beech-tree making honey, which Drichan gave him, with a present of gold and silver. When Brychan grew up, he was sent as a hostage to the King of Powys. Here he met a maiden called Banadlinet (the King's daughter, according to the *Cognacio Brychan*.) He violated her, and by her became the father of Saint Cynog. "That Saint Cynog is very celebrated in his own country of Brycheiniog," and the story of his armlet is given. The document continues: "this is the genealogy of saint Cynog son of Brychan. . . . These are the names of the sons of Brychan of Brycheiniog. Rhain . . . Clydwyn . . . (St. Clydog and St. Dedyw were sons of Clydwyn), Arthen, Pabai, Cynon . . . Dingad, Pasgen, Cyflifr . . . Berwin, son of Brychan, in Cornwall. Rydoch (i.e. Iddog), son of Brychan in France . . ."

"Of the daughters of Brychan. Gwladus, daughter of Brychan, mother of St. Cadog . . . Hunyd . . . Ceingair, daughter of Brychan, mother of St. Cynidr of Glasbury. Meleri, wife of Ceredig and mother of Sant. Sant was the father of St. David . . . Arianwen. Gwen, daughter of Brychan, in Talgarth . . . Cain, daughter of Brychan, between the forks of the Ogmor." (25 names are given.) The *De Situ* ends by telling us that Brychan had three wives, Prawst, Ribraust, and Proistri.

The *Cognacio Brychan* follows the *De Situ* in its main outlines, but differs in details. It tells us that Brychan had 24 daughters.

The *Ach Kynawc* is very brief, and is really only a genealogy. It begins "This is the way one treats of the pedigree of St. Cynog," and adds the names of Brychan's other sons and daughters, without any narrative at all.

If now we compare these Welsh accounts of King Brychan with that given by William of Worcester, we shall find that the latter follows the Welsh version in broad outline, but differs almost entirely from it in details. It begins with a story of Brychan the founder of Brecknock and ends with a list of his children, including a brief account of the eldest son, but neither the story nor the list resemble those in the Welsh tradition. Instead of Brychan being born in Ireland, he goes there after his marriage. Gladewys is found in both traditions, but she is Brychan's wife according to the Cornish story, his daughter according to the Welsh story. Otherwise the names of persons and places in the two traditions are entirely different (unless the Gwen of the Welsh list be the Wenna of the Cornish list.) They agree in the use of the number 24, but in the Cornish story the entire family consists of 24 children, in the Welsh story there are 24 daughters and 13 sons.

It is important to notice that both traditions give us details about Brychan's *eldest* son (though in Wales he is Cynog, in Cornwall Nectan), and then add the names of the other children. (*Ach Kynawc* is, as we have seen, merely a genealogy of Brychan's eldest son, and does not profess to be anything else.) The Life of St. Keyne in the same way (see p. 37) gives the names of Brychan's children, but confines itself to giving the story of only one of them. Giraldus Cambrensis, too, mentions the story of Brychan's children, but only speaks of one of them by name (and that one not found in any of our lists of Brychan's sons and daughters).¹

The Irish collection called "Mothers of the Saints" gives ten sons of "Bracan and *Dina*."²

If we turn to Brittany, we shall observe the same phenomenon. The Cartulary of Quimperlé contains a Life of a local saint, Ste. Nennoc, who is described as a daughter

¹ "A powerful and noble personage, by name Brachanus, was in ancient times the ruler of the province of Brecheinoc, and from him it derived its name. The British histories testify that he had 24 daughters, all of whom, dedicated from their youth to religious observances, happily ended their lives in sanctity. There are many churches in Wales distinguished by their names, one of which, situated on the summit of a hill near Brecon, and not far from the castle of Aberhodni, is called the church of St. Almedda," etc. Giraldus proceeds to give a very interesting description of the curious scenes witnessed at her Feast in August. (*Itin.*, c. II).

² M. Loth says "this document is of little value."

of Brychan, but nothing is told us of any of her brothers and sisters.¹

I think, then, that we must agree that Brychan is a very shadowy character indeed. The stories about him are not only mutually irreconcilable, but are obviously legendary and full of typical folk-lore themes.² It is clear that he had become a picturesque figure in the popular imagination of Wales and Cornwall, and was regarded by the compilers of Lives of Saints as a useful personage to introduce as the father of their particular hero. This does not mean that he never existed.³ It will be interesting to turn to the ancient Life of St. Carantoc, and compare it with the documents we have analysed. In it we shall find this famous saint represented as the son of a powerful king called Ceredic, from whom the principality of Ceredigion (Cardigan) took its name. I think it is quite possible that two Welsh chieftains may have founded, some time in the Vth century, after the break-up of the Roman Empire, little principalities in South Wales, which have ever since borne their names, and that many of the missionaries who evangelized South Wales, Cornwall and Brittany sprang from the royal houses of Brecon and Cardigan. The legend of King Brychan as a father of saints appealed to the imagination of later writers, who made him the actual father, not only of nearly all the saints who founded parishes in Brecknock and other districts of South Wales, but also of many saints who probably had no connection at all with Brecknock.

It is clear that the compiler of the document copied by William of Worcester (probably a monk of Hartland) did not know Wales, and had never seen any of the Welsh lists of Brychan's children. He may have heard some story

¹ "vir nobilis in Combronensia regione Brochan nomine, ex genere Gurthierni, rex honorabilis valde in totam Britanniam." Duine (*Memento*, p. 315) says "the prolific King Brychan was well known in Brittany."

² The statement that all the children of Brychan were hermits may be compared with the story found by Sébillot in Brittany about the Irish Queen who had seven children at a birth, all of whom, except one, became hermits in Brittany. (See *St. Petrock*, No. 11, in my "Cornish Saints" series, p. 30).

³ The name *Brycheiniog* postulates a *Brychan* as founder. (A.W.W.-E). We find, very appropriately, a place called Llys Brychan near Llangunock, close to Llansoy in Monmouthshire, and under Garn Goch in Carmarthenshire. (Baring-Gould and Fisher, *L.B.S.*, I. 313). *Lis* means a court-house, and always designates the residence of a chieftain.

about King Brychan, of which the only details that stuck in his memory were the name of Gladewys, the idea of a visit to Ireland, and the number 24. He added a very ancient list he had found of saints who evangelized North Devon and Cornwall, who had all (or nearly all) come from Wales, and some of them, as we shall see, from the neighbourhood of Brecon.

The Welsh stories about Brychan, as we have seen (*cf.* p. 6) considered some Cornish saints to be children of Brychan, but they are not (with one possible exception) those in William of Worcester's list. They form a group of South Cornwall saints, and are patrons of parishes in the Looe-Fowey district. I will deal with them in the second part of my book, after we have considered the names handed down to us by the Cornish tradition about Brychan's children.

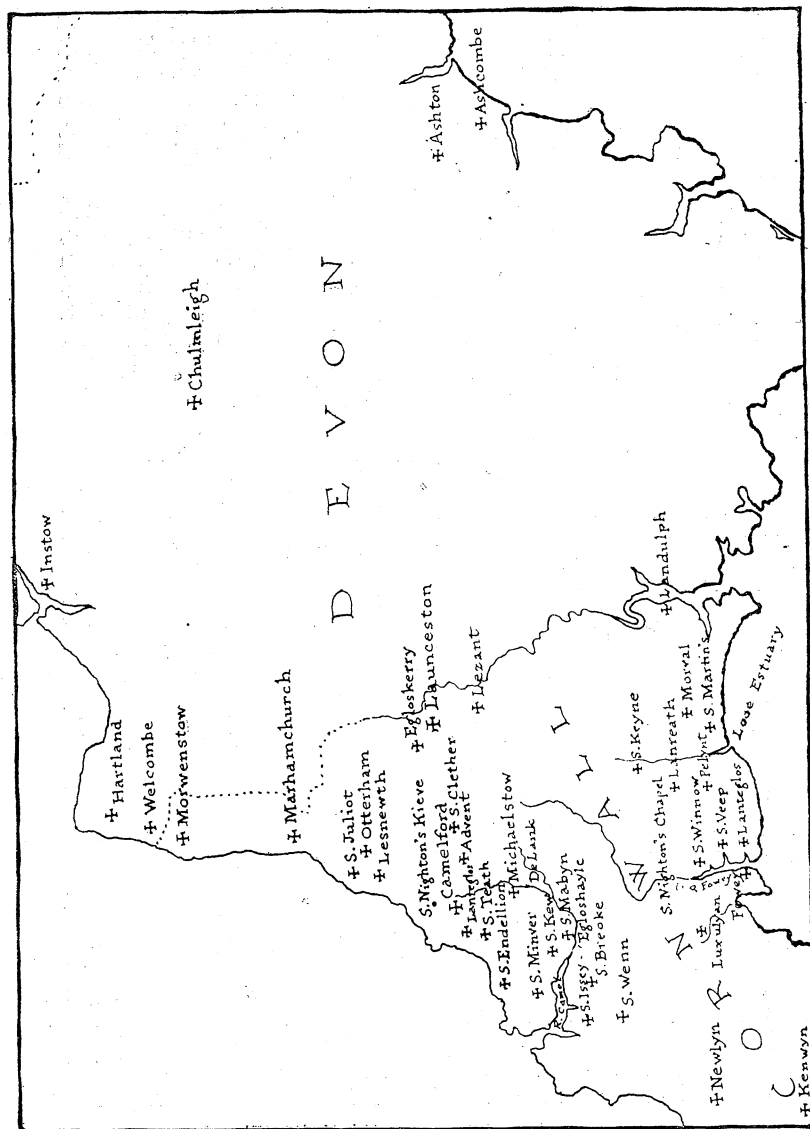
PART I.

Let us now examine critically the interesting document copied out by William of Worcester. We will take first the list he gives of Brychan's children.

This list presents a problem of extraordinary difficulty, but at the same time of extraordinary interest. It is clearly of considerable antiquity and preserves the names of some Vth century saints, some of whom have disappeared altogether from the topography of Devon and Cornwall and would, but for William of Worcester, be now entirely buried in oblivion.

It is true that it has been suggested¹ that this list "was possibly compiled at a late date from the names of the various churches of Trigg." I think however that this interesting suggestion, though it undoubtedly contains a large element of truth, cannot be accepted without some reserve. Several of the saints in the list are not only outside the Hundred of Trigg, but outside the County of Cornwall altogether. And although the manuscript which William of Worcester saw was no doubt written in the late Middle Ages (the name *Devonia* shows that it could not have been written before the XIIIth century) yet the list of Brychan's children which it contains must be very much older, because, as I have said, it records the names of saints of the earliest period

¹ *The Cornish Church Guide*, by C. G. Henderson, p. 90.



who have not in historic times been patrons of parishes in Devon and Cornwall, and whose names, if it had not been for this list, would now have been forgotten for over a thousand years.

Thirteen names on the list before us can easily be identified. *Nectan* is the patron saint of Hartland and Welcombe in North Devon and of Ashcombe in South Devon, and of a chapel near St. Winnow in South Cornwall. *Johannes* must be the patron of Instow (=John's Stow) in Devon on the estuary of the Taw between Barnstaple and Bideford (exactly where you would expect to find the settlement of an early Celtic Saint), and of St. John's well in Morwenstow,¹ and perhaps of Ploujean, near Morlaix in Brittany. *Endelient* is the éponyme of the parish of St. Endellion; *Menfred* is the patron of St. Minver, *Tedda* of St. Teath, *Maben* of St. Mabyn, *Marwenna* of Marhamchurch, *Wenna* of St. Wenn, *Yse* of St. Issey,² *Morwenna* of Morwenstow, *Cleder* of St. Clether, *Kery* of Egloskerry, *Adwen* (William of Worcester carelessly wrote Helye twice) of Advent. Mr. Henderson writes: "Both MORWENNA and MARWENNA appear in the lists of Brychan's children, and it is possible that some real distinction is intended. Morwenna was, of course, the patron of Morwenstow, but Marhamchurch near Bude is possibly under the invocation of St. Marwenna. The old spellings certainly suggest this—*Marona-circa* 1085, *Marwyne-Chirche* 1290, *Marwene Cherche* 1275; *Ecclesia Sancte Marwenne* 1400. Morwenstow, however, is always spelt with an o. St. Merryn near Padstow, anciently *St. Marina*, is also, perhaps, a *Marwenna* Church."³

We will deal with these saints in detail later on. Let us now examine the names which hitherto have baffled attempts at identification.

DILIT in William of Worcester is *Dilic* in Leland. At Port Isaac in the parish of St. Endellion is a *St. Illick*, where

¹The Survey of the Diocese of Exeter (1780) says that St. John is the patron of Morwenstow church, but the Priory of St. John the Baptist at Bridgwater held the Rectory in the Middle Ages, and this may account for the presence of St. John.

²Also of Mevagassey (= SS. Meva hag Issey) near St. Austell on the south coast.

³M. Loth says "*Marham* reminds one of the place called *Trev-marchan* in the Book of Llandaff. *Marona* is an interesting Cornish form of *Marwyn*, which is the Welsh form, which becomes in Cornish first *Maron* and then *Maren*."



ST. JOHN'S WELL, MORWENSTOWE.

This illustration appears in "Morwenstowe Since Stuart Times" by the Rev. F. C. Hamlyn, published by Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., Ltd., 3 Paternoster Buildings, E.C., and is lent by kind permission of the publishers.

a chapel of "St. Electa" stood in the Middle Ages. Mr. Henderson thinks that St. Electa may be the St. Delech who was the éponyme of the place called *Landelech* in Domesday, and which he has shown is almost certainly the modern *Landulph*, where, until 1559, there was a wall-painting of "St. Dyllytt."¹ Nicholas Roscarrock has the following notice:

"Of Saint Ilick. There was a Saint called St. Illick or Telick wch had a chapple dedicated to her in St. Endellient Parrish in the Hundreth of Trigg in Cornwall, and hath a well of her name, and had a feast in former time observed verie solemnlye the Saterdaye next following the Epephany or Twelft daye as we call it. And the inhabitants there used to saye by Tradition that shee came miraculously out of Ireland on a Horrow or Hurdell, and that shee lived there in the time of St. Endellient, wch by guess we maye think to bee about the yere 550. And the path wherin they used to walk or pass on to the other is noted at this daye by the inhabitants to be greener then anye other part especiallie after Tillage. There was a Tree over her well wch those that attempted to cutt downe had ever harme, so as they gave over to cutt it. Till one more bold than the rest did cutt it downe, whoe hurting himself was noted to dye shortly after. [This] happned in our tyme."

The reader will have noticed that several of the names begin with *Wen*. Now *wen* in Cornish means *white*, and so *holy* (as we speak of a man living "a white life.") This will help us towards explaining the names *Wencu*, *Wensent* and *Wenheden*. (It is to be observed however that several of the manumitted serfs in the *Bodmin Gospels* have names beginning with *Wen*.)

WENCU might possibly be St. Kew. The parish now called St. Kew was originally Lan-Docco.² In the churchyard was a chapel of St. Kew, which may have been found there by the monks who founded the monastery of Docco.³ A

¹ *Truro Diocesan Gazette*, 1929, pp. 64, 65. M. Loth points out that there is a *St. Dellec* (*sanchus Delocus* in the Cartulary of Redon) at Plouray in Brittany (Morbihan). In Brittany we also find *St. Illec*, now *St. Dilecq* at Bay near Quimperlé. *St. Illog* is honoured at Hirnant in Wales (Montgomeryshire) on 8th August. The name may be the same as *Illogan*.

² It should be observed that in Somerset, two miles N.E. of Weston-super-Mare, is a village called *Kewstoke*. "Opposite the church door is a series of steps leading up the hill, called *St. Kew's Steps*, the origin of which is unknown." Professor Mawer thinks that "there is no reason why *Kewstoke* (in Domesday *Chwestockh*, 1268 *Kyustoke*, 1273 and 1279 *Kywestok*) should not contain the name of *St. Kew*, just as in Devon there was a place now called *Stoke*, which was *Nehtanestok*." (A very large number of places, in Cornwall and the west of England, ending in *stow*, contain the name of a saint):

³ See *SS. Docco and Kew*, No. 12 in my "Cornish Saints" series.

female saint *Guengu*, which is clearly the same word as *Wencu*, is honoured in Armorican Cornwall. She has a chapel at Loc-unduff in the parish of Tourc'h (just north of Rosporden in Finistère) and is now known as Ste. Candide (which is the Latin for *Gwen*.) Locunduff, says M. Loth, is a barbarism for Locunguff=Loc-Gwenguff.¹ It is interesting to note that some authorities have seen in *Guengu* another form of the name *Guengustle*, the surname of Ste. Nennok, the daughter of *Brychan*,² (though Loth thinks this untenable.) A deed of 1619 speaks of "sainte Vengu, patronne de Locunduff."³ The chapel contains a fine statue of the saint (late XVth century or early XVIth century), representing her as an abbess with a book in her left hand and a crozier in her right.

Mr. Henderson writes: "There was a Chapel of *St. Wencia* in Egloshayle parish, for which Sir Thomas Peverell had a license from Bishop Brantyngham in 1388. The site of this chapel is unknown, but it may have been near Park on the S.E. side of the parish, where the Peverells had a fine mansion. Sir Thomas acted as host to Archbishop Courtenay, who spent a night at Park in 1384 during his metropolitical visitation."

WENSENT is probably Saint Sant; the éponyme of Lezant (formerly Lansant.) St. Broeke was also originally called Lansant, and Sancreed in West Cornwall was sometimes called Eglos-Sant. *Sant* was the name of the father of St. David, and was a grandson of *Brychan* according to the Welsh list.

Mr. C. Henderson writes: "Although no church now claims *Wensent* for its patron, his shrine appears to have been in the parish of Lanteglos on the borders of Michaelstow. In 1840 a tenement of 20 acres bore the name of *Fenterwanson*, *Fenter* being the local variant of *Fenton*, a spring. In the 'Bounds' of Michaelstow 1613 (see Maclean's *Trigg Minor III*, 555) the place is called *Fentenwansen*, but in the Lay Subsidy Roll for Lanteglos parish A.D. 1327, there appears the name of Nicholas *Fentenwensant*."

There was an *Eglwys Wensen* under Peterston-super-Ely in Glamorgan.

¹ *Noms des Saints Bretons*, pp. 51, 52.

² Canon Abgrall, in the 1901 edition of Albert Le Grand, p. 275. (See p. 7).

³ *ib.* Ste. Candide is also the patron of Scaer in the same neighbourhood, where her holy well is famous for the abundance and purity of its waters.

WENHEDEN is much more difficult to explain.¹

A St. Eden is found in Brittany, but this (M. Loth says) may be for St. Deden, a name however perhaps identical with that of St. Dedyw (spelt *Dedyn* by Rees) whom we have met with already as a *grand-son* of *Brychan*.² Mr. Wade-Evans suggests the *Keneythron* of *Kydwely* (or, *Koneidon*, or *Ryneidon*) of the Welsh lists.

The parish of St. Juliot in Domesday is *Sanguilant*, who may be the JULIANA of our list. It belonged to the canons of Launceston, where William of Worcester probably found the list of *Brychan*'s children. *Luxulyan*, too, seems to contain this name, and "at Tintagel Julitta and Juliana were confused."³ St. Juliot also appears at Camelford.

Mr. Henderson writes: "The principal shrine of Julitta in Trigg was not St. Juliot but the important church of Lanteglos by Camelford, styled in 1288 *Ecclesia Sancte Julitte*. In the valley above the church is a place now called Jetwells, but originally (1569) *St. Gilt-will Park*—from the fact that the Holy Well of St. Gilt, i.e., Juliot, lies in the valley below it.

The interesting little chapel on the island part of Tintagel Castle⁴ is styled by Leland (1535) as being 'of *St. Ulette alias Uliane*.' This chapel may well have been a Celtic foundation of St. Julitta, lying as it does between Lanteglos and St. Juliot, but how far Leland was justified in equating "Ulette" with "Uliane" it is difficult to say. If, however, he had documentary or traditional authority for so doing, it gives us reason to regard *Julitta* as the equivalent of

¹ Mr. J. J. Alexander has pointed out to me that there is a place called *Heddon's Mouth* in Trentishoe, five miles from Lynmouth, "so called from a cavern in the rocks formerly occupied by a giant, at the point where the river runs into the sea." I hardly think, however, that St. Heden has become a giant, and we must probably look for him in Cornwall. Mr. Henderson suggests that the name may be a misreading for *Wenhedec*, i.e. *Guenedoc*, the original name of the Saint now called Enodock whose church lies in the sandhills on the east side of Padstow Haven and is a chapelry to St. Minver.

² Loth, op. cit., p. 36.

³ *Cornish Church Guide*, p. 150.

⁴ Mr. Cuthbert Atchley says: "Tintagel Castle Island was quite likely a cliff castle, and the finding of pottery of about A.D. 50, and graves of the "Arthurian" period, together with the Celtic dedication of the chapel, prove that the site was occupied before the 13th century, which is the date of the existing ruins on the mainland and the island.

In the chapel is Norman masonry that appears to be not later than the early 12th century. The 13th century slate rubble walls, now

Juliana the child of Brychan. Luxulyan near Par claimed as patroness the well-known Roman martyrs Cyric and Julitta, and it has been suggested that Luxulyan is a corruption of Lan-sulyan, *i.e.*, Lan-julyan, and that, here again, Julyan and Julitta have been confused. I think, however, that it is more probable that the Celtic *Carroc* was the true patron of Luxulyan and that here (as at St. Veep) his name suggested a mediaeval change to SS. Cyric and Julitta. The holy well at Luxulyan has always been called St. Cyre's well—never St. Julian's. There is, however, a St. Julian's well at Maker near Plymouth, and in 1538 St. Julian is named as patron of Maker Church itself.¹

JONA is now unknown in Cornwall, but the name appears in the *Vita Samsonis* as a King of Domnonia in Brittany, son of Riada and father of Judual, put to death by Commor. He also appears in the *Life of St. Judicael*, in the *Chronicle of St. Brieuc*, and in the *Genealogy of St. Winnoc* (St. Winnow,

standing from about 2' 0" to 5' 0" high, retain traces of the ancient plaster on the interior faces. The plan measures within the walls 12' 0" to 12' 6" wide and 34' 3" long, and though rectangular, is not of purely Keltic form, for instead of the side entrance it has a western porch, possibly because the building was a private chapel, and would by this time have been arranged, consequently, in quire fashion, for the porch was built after the rest of the work. Near this porch are fragments of door jambs in Tintagel greenstone, with details so obscured by weathering that they may be either of 13th or 14th century date. Low down and along most of the south wall of the chapel is a shallow recess, perhaps for a tomb, and above it are the indications of a 13th century lancet window. At about 12' 0" west of the east wall, in both the north and south walls, is a large groove, which, some have suggested, was for supporting a screen, and many other far more improbable ideas have been put forward. Close to the altar is the fragment of a window mullion, the date of which suggests that the east window must have been renewed during the 14th century.

The altar seems rather disproportionate for the period when the chapel was built, a period when the material of its slab, granite, was very seldom used, for granite was out of fashion from the 12th to the 15th centuries. At the later date the castle had become a ruin. This points to the altar being earlier, that is pre-Norman. And since its dimensions are similar to the existing primitive altars in Cornwall, it would seem that it is probably the altar of the former Keltic chapel on Tintagel Castle Island." (See sketch on p. 59).

¹ Julitta and Juliana both appear among the Virgins invoked in the Litany in the Psalter of Rheims, printed in Mabillon, *Vet. Analecta*, p. 168 (ed. 1723). Duine thought this document was written for the use of Breton clerks, exiled in England in the time of King Athelstan, and by him accorded some place of refuge in Devon or Cornwall. (Inv. Lit. p. 42). M. Loth says: "I do not think that Sanguilant has any-

by the way, is patron of a parish near the Brychan parishes in South Cornwall.) At Otterham is a place called *St. Tiny* (Tenye 1613), which might possibly be a corruption of Jona.¹

KANANC is equally difficult to identify. The patron of Lesnewth, according to Ecton (*Thesaurus*, p. 182, ed. 1742) is *St. Knet*, which might conceivably be a very debased form of Kananc (which has been misread as Kanant),¹ Mr. Wade-Evans suggests that Kananc is for *Kanauc*, *i.e.*, Cynog. See p. 6.

For KERHENDER Mr. Wade-Evans suggests *Cyndr*, grandson of Brychan.

HELIE cannot be identified, unless he is the same as the éponyme of Llanelyw in Brecknock. (Elyw was a granddaughter of Brychan and patron of Llanelly. Rees, *Essay*, p. 156.)

Mr. Alexander points out that *St. Helen* is honoured on Lundy Island. There was also a chapel of *St. Helen* in Davidstow. This saint has supplanted other Celtic saints of somewhat similar name in Cornwall. *Egloshayle* (several parishes in Cornwall bear this name, which of course means "River Church") may have originally been Eglos Helye.

TAMALANC too remains a puzzle, unless *Talland* be a corruption of the name. Mr. Henderson says the name reminds him of *De Lank*, anciently *Dymlonk*.

thing to do with Julliana. There are several places in Brittany where *St. Julitte* is honoured, at Plumergat and Trefléan, at Ambon (where there is a *Fontaine Ste. Julitte*) and Molac, where the parish church is dedicated to *St. Cyr* and *St. Julitte* (all these are in Morbihan). There is a *Lan-julitt* at Telgruc in Finistère ("quandam tribum nomine Tref Iulitt in vicario Eneuur," *Cart. of Landevennee*, XLVII), and a *Lezulit* in Grandchamp (Morbihan). *Julitta* should have become *Juleth* in Old Breton. I cannot explain the forms of this name, which give me the impression of being literary and not native forms. It is possible that there may have been a fusion with a saint (male or female) different from *Julitta*. The Welsh *St. Julitta* who is the eponyme of Llanilid in Glamorgan, according to Rees, is supposed to be the mother of *S. Patern* (*Essay*, p. 337). In the Book of Llandaff a place called *sant Ilien* is mentioned in a charter of Bishop Civelliauc, who died in 927. Mr. G. Evans (*Book of Llandav*, p. 234) identifies it with *St. Julian's* in Monmouthshire. I do not think that *Ilien* in the 10th century can be *Juliana*. There is a *Lanilien* at Camaret (Fin.) in Brittany."

¹ I owe these suggestions to Mr. Charles Henderson. M. Loth says: "I believe *Kananc* is *Canauc*, a Welsh form of an older *Conauc*, *Cinauc*. Old Cornish, like Breton, never has *auc* but *oc*, as in Boconnoc."

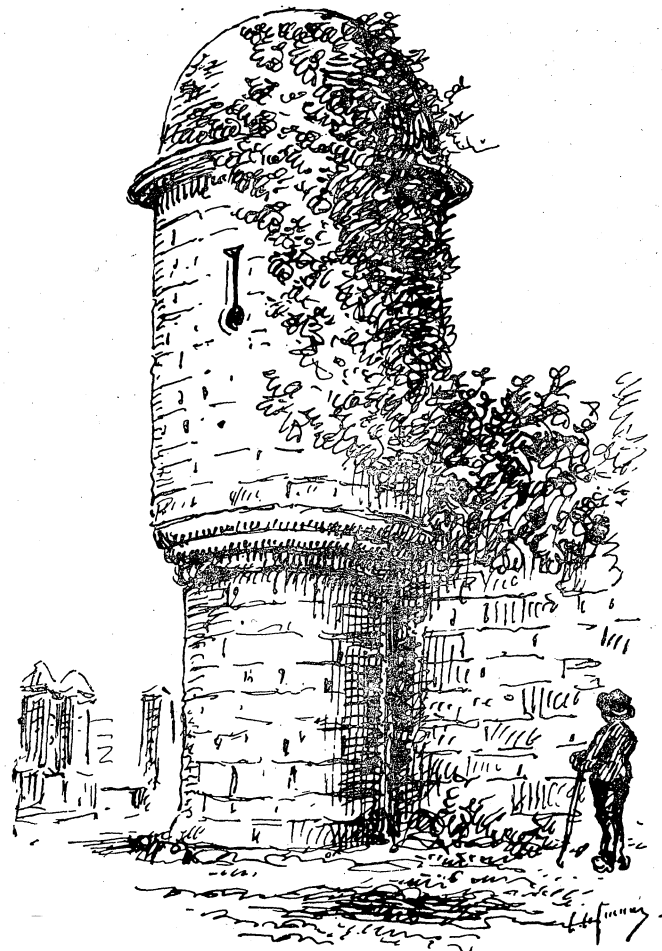
Mr. Henderson writes : " ADWEN HELYE in William of Worcester appears as two separate names in Leland, but, as we have seen, Worcester gives Helye by itself as well. The name Adwen at once suggests the patron of Advent Church near Camelford. This church is called *Sancta Athwenna* in 1340, *St. Athwanne* in 1434, *St. Tathene alias Advent* in 1601. If on the other hand Adwenhelye is to be read as one name it is worth noting that there is a hamlet in the parish of Michaelstow (close to Advent) now called Fenternadle but formerly *Fenton-Athwell* (1602). "Fentonadle Well" is named in 1613 as the bound-mark between the parishes of Michaelstow, Lanteglos and Advent. Athwell is a possible contraction of *Adwenhelye*."

Mr. Henderson writes : " WYMP or Wynip of course suggests the Saint of Gwennap near Redruth, styled *St. Weneppa* in 1281 and *Lawennep* (i.e. *Lan-Wenep*). It is, however, a far cry to Gwennap from Trigg." There is a place called *Fentongimps* a few miles north of Truro.

Let us now turn to the saints in William of Worcester's list who can be beyond all doubt identified with the patrons of Cornish and Devon parishes. First we will take St. NECTAN.

Our author is unquestionably right, if not in telling us that Nectan was the eldest son of King Brychan, at any rate in his statement that Nectan was the chief personage in the whole list of North Cornwall and Devon saints whom he calls the Children of Brychan. While most of these saints have only one dedication, St. Nectan has at least five in Devon and Cornwall, and his name is found in Brittany, in the S.W. corner of Armorican Cornwall, where the parish of Plonéour-Lanvern, between Quimper and Pont l'Abbé, contains two places called after him—Lan-neizant and Kerneizan.¹ It is particularly interesting to notice that the parish of Plonéour-Lanvern is only a few kilometres from a parish on the Atlantic coast called Plouhinec (=Parish of Winnoc) where a fine statue of St. Winoc adorns the parish church, while in Cornwall the parish of St. Winnow contains the important chapelry or sub-parish of St. Nectan. M. Loth, however, says that the word Plou-hinec is really *Plebs*

¹Loth, *Noms des Saints Bretons*, p. 97. M. Georges Monot tells me that there is another Kerneizan two kilometres S.W. of Locudy, near the chapel of St. Guido. There was a powerful family of Kerneizan in Cornouaille.



*Tour de guet au manoir de Keraneizan
en Plonéour-Lanvern. (Finistère)*

MANOR HOUSE OF KERANEIZAN IN BRITTANY

(From a drawing by M. L. LeGuennec, City Librarian of Quimper)

Ithinuc (Cart. of Quimperlé). I think we may conclude that the two saints were companions.¹

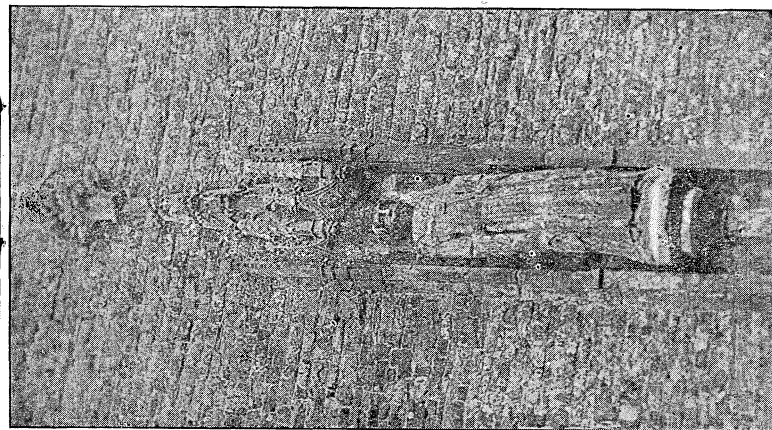
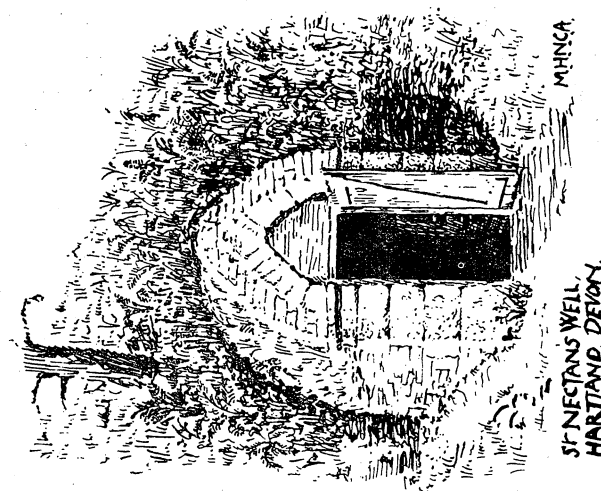
St. Nectan, then, must have been one of the most important figures in the early history of the kingdom of Damnonia, and it is very disappointing to find that the few details about him preserved for us by William of Worcester, are so obviously late and legendary. (I must warn the reader that all the traditions about the children of Brychan collected by Nicholas Roscarrock in the XVIth century, which I am going to place before him, are of this character. Without exception they belong to the class of typical local legend such as every Breton parish abounds in, they are simply the creation of the imagination of the peasantry of North Cornwall during the Middle Ages long after the true story of the lives of these saints had been entirely forgotten, and tell us nothing that is historical about them.)

The two sentences which William of Worcester gives us about the life of St. Nectan are evidently an excerpt from a lost *Life*, as the words "by these robbers" show. No robbers have yet been mentioned, when suddenly we are told that Nectan was slain "by these robbers." It is the end of a story the rest of which was not copied out. The fragment before us contains a few local Hartland legends about the church, the holy well, and a rock with red streaks in it close by. St. Nectan is represented as being (in the technical language of Hagiography) a "céphalophore," i.e., he belongs to the class of saint, of which St. Denys is the most famous, who are described as carrying their heads after they were beheaded. (It has been thought that this and similar stories grew up owing to the fact that a number of old statues of saints carrying their heads in their hands, to show that they had been beheaded, existed, and the reason for their being portrayed in this attitude was forgotten. Fr. Delehaye¹ however refuses to commit himself to any theory on this subject.) According to William of Worcester, quite a large number of Cornish saints were cephalophores,—besides St. Nectan and St. Willow, he tells us that "there were three brothers under the name of Genesius and each one carried his head."

It may be noted that the story of St. Nectan's murder

¹ In Wales we find two brothers, sons of Gildas, Neithon and Gwynog, commemorated in adjoining parishes. (See p. 23, note 1).

² *Légendes Hagiographiques*, p. 76. (Ed. 1927).



STATUE OF ST. NECTAN ON THE WALL OF THE
TOWER OF HARTLAND CHURCH.

closely resembles in its details that of St. Decumanus's martyrdom,—both take up their heads and carry them to a well.¹

I fear then that, apart from its witness to the vitality of the cult of St. Nectan in Hartland parish,² the fragment of his *Life* recorded by William of Worcester does not tell us anything about him, and Nicholas Roscarrock does not really tell us anything more,³ so that we must rely solely on the evidence afforded by the study of place-names and other indications as to the cult once paid him.

His *name* is of special interest, since it is apparently a

¹ See Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Anglie* (ed. Horstman), i. 265.

² *Nectan* became a favourite Christian name in Hartland parish. At the Dissolution of the Abbey in 1539 we find that one of the monks was called *Nighting* (or *Nectan*) *Bere*.

³ Roscarrock says: "May 18 anno 550. Saint Nectane was the sonne of Sct Brechanus by his wife Gladwise and liued ane austere and eremetical life att Hartland in Devnshire ane eminent promontory called by Ptollemy (Herculis promontorium) and wher also he dyed was buried and had his reliques reserued ther with great reverence, wher the wife of Erle Godwine erected in the honour of God and of him a church and a monestary, beinge perswaded that her husband (the rather by his prayer) was admirably preserued in a sea storm or tempeste, wch monestary was afterward encreased by Dinant or Denham wherof the last (heir) was lord Higge Tresurer of England under Kinge Henry the seaventh, of whom Zouch fitefwaren the Arundells of Lanherne in Cornwall and Carewes are disceded. The life of Sct Nectan was written att the ende of a booke very Autiently in the library of Martine Colledge in Oxford wch my learned and laborious friend Mr Camden seinge tooke a breefe note of wch he imparted to me; and when I importuned him to gett me a coppie of the life at lardge wch by his report was not very longe. Hee found att the second search that it was imbazled beinge cutt out of the booke and carried away by such as perhapes observed his earnest vewinge of itt. I haue besides a manuscripte that telleth me that the day of his feast is the 18. of May and that hee was a martyr and buryed att the monestary of Hartland in the Confines of Cornwall and Devnshire and sonne to Sct Brachan or Brechanus, a great manne of walles and this is as much as I canne finde of him, savinge that wch Is contained in this note folloing wch I received of my fore named frinde Mr Camden and necessary I thinke to bee layd downe here verbatim as I had itt of him, as followeth. Brechanus Regulus Wallie a quo Brechnoc provincia nomen sumpsit, ex Gladwise uxore viginti quatuor filios et filias genuit, quorum haec sunt nomina: Nectanus, Johannes, Wensent, Endelient, Menfre, Dilie, Tedda, Malem, Wenon, Merwenna, Wenna, Juliana, Yse, Morwenna, Whimp, Weneder, Elender, Kerie, Jona, Kanaunt, Kethender, Adwen, Helie, Tamalant; isti filii et filiae postea facti fuerunt martires vel confessores. In Devoniam et Cornubiam vitam Eremiticam agentes." Roscarrock adds a translation, and quotes the passage of Giraldus Cambrensis already cited (see p. 7.) He continues: "Brechanus . . . liued as I gather by conference with some welch-men about the year 550. . . . Ther was a boane of his (Nectan's) reserued as a relique in Waltham Abbey."

Pictish name¹; or at any rate a name found in Scotland, for we are told that the name of the place where Ecgrith King of Northumbria was killed in battle by the Picts in 685 was *Nechtansmere*.² We learn, too, from Bede that the King of the Picts who introduced the Roman Easter into Scotland was called *Naitan* (*Eccl. Hist.*, Bk. V, c. 21). Dempster (lib. 17, *Hist. Eccl. gentis Scotorum*) says that a "St. Nectan was made Bishop of Aberdeen by St. David, King of Scotland, and was venerated by the diocese of Aberdeen as a saint, though his name is not in any Martyrology." (cited *Acta SS.*, 14 Feb., II. 742. ed. 1864.) The name was also very well known in Ireland. O'Hanlon, in his *Lives of the Irish Saints*, mentions four saints of the name of Nectan honoured in Ireland.³ On the XIth century staff of Lismore is the inscription "pray for Nectan, the workman who fashioned this" (Margaret Stokes, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, p. 103). The *Life of Saint Boecius (Buite) Bishop of Mainistir Buite* (=Monasterboice), (Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, pp. 86f) tells us "how the saint raised King Nectanus from death" (this, according to Fr. Grosjean, would be Nechtan Morbet, who reigned over the Picts 457—481), and how not long after, travelling to the land of the "Bregensians," he left at the monastery "Nectanus the bishop." The *Acta SS.* (May, I, p. 170) mention

¹ We may note that the following triad appears in some additions to the *Bonedd y Saint* of the XVth century, "Three stocks of the saints of Wales: the children of Brychan; and the children of Cunedda Wledig; and the children of Caw of *Pictland*." (Wade-Evans, *Brychan*, p. 7. He says that *Nectan* is in Welsh *Neithon* or *Nwython*. Gildas, himself a Pict, is given a son of this name, who, with his brother Gwynog, was the patron of Llangwm Dinmael in Denbighshire. The saint of *Cambusnehan* bears this name (the parish adjoins that of Cambuslang, the saint of which is Cadoc, grandson of Brychan. Caw of Pictland, father of Gildas, was prince of the district of Anglud (=Clydeside). Gildas had a sister Peithian = Little Pictess).

² Simon of Durham says the battle took place "at Nechtansmere, which is the *Lake of Nectan*." (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 241, note).

³ They are (a) *St. Nechtan of Dun Geimham* (Dungiven Abbey in Co. Londonderry). The martyrologies of Tallagh and Donegal commemorate him on 8th January. In a gloss to the Féilire of St. Oengus Nechtan is described as "anair de Albain" (= "from the East, from Alban.") O'Hanlon identifies him with a St. Naughlan honoured in the diocese of Aberdeen; "the 8th January was a feast on which no work was done at Bothelney near Meldrum (close to which is Naughlan's well) long after the saint's name was forgotten." The Annals of the Four Masters give 677 as the date of Nechtan's death. The Annals of Ulster give 678 as "the rest of Neachtan Neir." The ruins

a St. Nectan of Kill-unche in Limerick,¹ "a nephew of St. Patrick by his sister Liemania, to whom Patrick appeared as he lay dying and foretold future glory in heaven," commemorated on 2nd May. The *Life of St. Finan* (c. 16) also mentions a "chief of the Hua Fidhgente, called *Nechtayn*," elsewhere described as *Nechtain*. *Cennfhada*=Longheaded (Plummer, *Vit. Sanct. Hib.*, II, 91, 366). Further, in the *Martyrology of Gorman* (Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol. IX., 1895, p. 118) under June 17th, we find "the sons of Nectan, sons in the noble Abode" (=Heaven),—the note adds "of Druim Bricce." Now as 17th June is the Feast of St. Nectan in Cornwall it looks as if St. Nectan might be in reality an Irish Saint, and not a Welsh saint at all.²

It is clear that St. Nectan was held in special honour at Launceston, where William of Worcester found his name in a Kalendar, and where he probably also found the fragment of his Life, as we have seen. A fair called Nectan Fair is still kept at Launceston on his feast. William of Worcester tells us that June 17th was the anniversary of his martyrdom, and his name appears in the XIIth century Exeter kalendar,³ in the Wells kalendar, and in the Norwich martyrology (XVth century) on that day, also in the Altemps martyrology (XIIIth century, see *Stanton's Menology*, p. 273.) Wilson's martyrology (1640) however has his feast on 14th February,

of Dungiven Abbey may still be seen, and a round tower stood by it till 1784. (b) on 22 April the Martyrology of Tallagh commemorates *Nechtan moccu Baird* (*Nechtan Ua Baird* in the Martyrology of Donegal) (c) on 2nd May the Martyrologies of Tallagh and Donegal and the Féilire of St. Oengus the Culdee commemorate *St. Nechtan of Cill-unche* (Cill Unchi or Cell Funchi) in Co. Louth ("the death, after a long sigh, of Nechtain, Patrick's pupil," says Oengus). He was buried at Fionuabhair-Abba or Findabair, now Fennor, on the Boyne, between Dublin and Slane. The ancient parish church of Fennor, of which he was the patron saint, is now in ruins, but his feast is still observed there on 2nd May. This is the Nectan, "son of Liamhain, St. Patrick's sister," mentioned in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* under 2nd May. (d) *A virgin St. Nectan* is commemorated on 22nd November.

The *Trias Thaumaturga* also speaks of a Nectan as among the disciples of St. Patrick.

¹See note above.

²M. Loth agrees with me. "*Nechtan* is not a British form, but a Gaelic. The Welsh form is *Neithon*."

³In the Martyrology of Bishop Grandisson is the note: "Item. In Anglia, Exoniensi diocesi, apud Monasterium Hertelonde, Sancti Nectani, Regis et Martiris."

and this is the date of a fair held at St. Nectan's chapel, near St. Winnow. Nicholas Roscarrock gives 18th May.

Mr. Charles Henderson has written an exhaustive study on the cult of St. Nectan in Cornwall, so that I need only add that there was a chapel of St. Nectan in the parish of Chulmleigh in Devon, and that "there is some evidence that a chapel in Cheddar church in Somerset was dedicated to him." (Dr. J. Armitage Robinson.)

Next in William of Worcester's list, after JOHANNES, with whom we have dealt already, comes ENDELIENT (which we have seen is the right reading of the name.)

Nicholas Roscarrock, who took his name from a manor in the parish of St. Endellion, and was baptized and confirmed in the parish church, has given us a particularly interesting Life of St. Endelient.

Apr. 29. Sainct Endelient was as I am informed out of the life of her brother St. Nectan, the daughter of the often named St. Brechannus by his wife Gladysse. She lived in a place in Cornwall called Trenteny, where I remember there stode a Chapell dedicated (as I take it) to her which at this daye is decayed, and the place in which it stode is yet called the Chappelle Cloose, and lyeth on the south-west of the Parrish Church, which at this present is of her called St. Endelient, where shee lived a verie Austere Course of life. That with the Milk of a Cowe onely which Cowe the lord of Trenteny kild as she strayed into his grounds; and as olde people speaking by Tradition doe report she had a great man to her Godfather, which they also saye was King Arthure, whoe took the killing of the Cowe in such sort, as he killed or caud the Man to be slaine, whom she miraculously revived. And when she perceived the daye of her death drawe nye, she intreated her friends after her death, to laye her dead bodye on a sled and to burie her there where certaine young Stots Bullocks or Calves of a yere olde should of there owne accord drawe her, which being done, they brought her to a place, which at that tyme was a myerye waste ground, and a great quagmire on the top of an hill, where in time after there was a Church builded on her and dedicated to her, bearing her name, which since proved a fyne firme and fruitfull part of ground, where her feast was accustomed to be yerely remembered the 29 of Aprill, and as I have heard it credablye reported, that the Chappell in Lundy, was likewise dedicated unto her and bare

her name ; yet my good frind Mr. Camden saith the Chappell was dedicated unto St. Heline ; but under correction, except hee have better warrant, than bare Coniecture, I still holde the former report more likely partelye because her brother St. Nectan had a Church dedicated at Hartly pointe over against it, but 14 miles from it ; next being not farr from St. Endelian in Cornwall, and uppon the same sea Coast, by reason wherof it is not improbable that shee did alsoe sometimes live in that Island for manie of St. Brechanus Children planttied themselves neer one another. As this St. Endelient, St. Memfrey or St. Menefred, St. Maben, St. Tuddy, etc. And yet I doe not as much as find her named, in twoe severall Pedegrees, except they gave her some other name. Reed St. Brechanus, and St. Nechtan, perhaps the booke of landaff calleth her Belian the 21 daughter of St. Brechanus.¹

The Collector writeth to and of his Patronesse as followeth :

Sweit Sainct Endelienta virgin pure

Daughter of Prince and Sainct, yea Sister deare ;

Of manie Sts. which stowtlye did indure

Conflictes in Worlde with Sinners living here

Vouchsaife sweit Sainct, my Patronesse to be

To praye for him whoe humblee prayes to thee.

To thee which being borne of Royall Blood

Having the world as twere at thy owne will,

Leftes all to follow God true Sovereigne Good

Who onelye able was thy Sowle to fill

Daunting the worlde the flesh, the feind and Sin,

For liffe well led, and endless life to win.

ffor which a Sainct thou worthilie art Crowned

In heaven above with everlasting bliss

and here on earth belowe likewise renound

Where to thy name a Church erected is

Even there where thowe thy Life didst lead and leave.

And where I wretch true life did first receive.

ffor in that church a Christian I became

And of Christes Church a Member first to bee

And also was Confirmed in the same

for which I thank my god and praye to thee

This work to further in thy Church begun

with prayer that I my race may rightly Run.

¹ He means *Beliau*, i.e. *Beilo*, the saint of Llanfeilo, Breconschire.

To emitate in part thy vertues rare

Thy faith, Hope, Charitie, thy humble mynde

Thy Chastness, meekness, and thy dyet spare

And that which in this Worlde, is hard to finde

The love which thou to enemye didst showe

Reviving him who sought thy overthrowe.

Unto the three and one praie thou for this

And all thy fellow Saintes with mee request

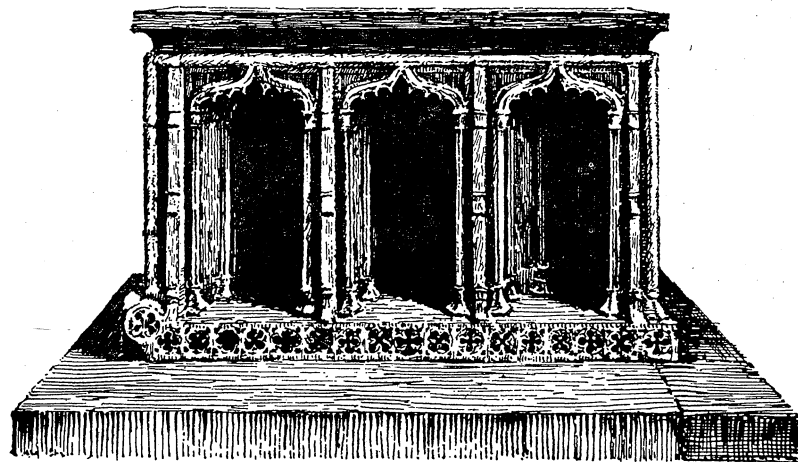
That I maye shun to Sin and doe amiss

Bewaile sins past and followe Gods behest

Graunt me this Grace good God whose might is moste

Thrice Blessed ffather, Sonn, and Holi Ghoste.

There were twoe Wells which bare her Name in the fore-mentioned Parish, the one somewhat more distant from the Church than the other, which hathe bene as it seems found out of late, for more conveniencie to serve the Church ; but that which is more remote, is said to be frequented by her in her life time. Her Tombe was defaced in King Henrie the 8 time and afterwarde placed uppon one Mr. Batten in Chandutes Ile, being the South Aile of the Church, where it standeth at this present, and seameth to have bene verie



THE SHRINE OF SAINT ENDELLIENTA

M.H.C. Arbley.

Auncient.¹ The Table whereof is of Polished stone like black Marble. Reed St. Eudeline." (Roscarrock adds a quotation from Whitford's Martyrology about St. Eudeline, a virgin saint commemorated 18th February.)

The Life of St. Endelienta has a strong legendary flavour, We note that, like St. Decumanus, she had a cow. The story of the transport of her body after her death to the site of the church is very common in Lives of saints, it appears, e.g., in that of St. Ronan.

Mr. Henderson writes: "Among the Borlase MSS. at the Morrab Library, Penzance, is an interesting historical and statistical account of the parish of Endellion, written by James Tregear (?the Curate) and sent by him to Dr. Borlase for use in his projected Parochial History of Cornwall (never published) in 1753. He writes *inter alia* that the church was "by ancient tradition, dedicated to the same Irish Saint (whose picture I have seen) as there is many churches in this northern tract, etc. . . . We have two marble tombs standing, one in ye chancel the other in the church. That in the church is of very beautiful workmanship, black Tuscan marble but anonymous, but tradition says that it was a Base Son and Butler to one of the great Roscarrocks. . . . On the North or Touching the North wall of the Chancell [is] the other [Tomb] of plain work of gray marble on the last great Sir Henry, Lord Cheney. . . . called by writ as Lord Cheney of Tristenton (Triggstenton in Endellion, C.H.) to the Parliament in 1572. He died shortly afterward and was there intombed, wife, issue and arms pourtrayed in brass, which our late sacrilegious Rector Wills broke off and sold, now anonymous. . . . He and his Lady have walked by night with us and a cry of dogs very common down to this 50 or 60 years as some now living can testify, who have seen the same. . . . There was some years back dug up in ye Church yard a large sepulchre of artificial stone made of lime and sand which ye said Mr. Wills put for a pig's trough, part thereof to be seen on our Churchyard stile."

Mr. Tregear in this account also refers to a cross standing on the boundary of Roscarrock Barton by the side of the way leading to the church "with a barbarous inscription on the spill of the same." The base of this stone remains *in situ*, but the *spill* was unwisely moved many years ago to Doyden Headland near Portquinn, where it stands exposed to the disintegrating agency of the salt winds. The inscription, as read by the Rev. W. Iago, is BROCAgni IHC IACIT NADOTTI FILIUS. The first name *Brocagn* or *Brocan*, suggests that of King Brychan. This very interesting inscription is preceded by a debased form of the well known Christian symbol, the Chi-Rho monogram. On the back of the stone is a plain cross in relief. In 1840 fields at Roscarrock bore the name of Crowzer Park (? Crows-hir=Long Cross). The place where the cross stood (where four roads meet) is called Long Cross.

¹ "This fine 15th cent. tomb. of Cataclewse stone is now used as an altar in the South aisle."—C.G.H.

In the parish of St. Kew, but close to the south-eastern border of Endellion, is a 27-acre field on the estate of Treharrick called (in 1840) *Brokenburrow*. This remarkable name again suggests that of Brychan or Brochan. The word *Burrow* is only found in this part of Cornwall in connexion with ancient earthworks. The field stands high, near the ancient "ridgeway" from the Romano-British settlement near St. Enodoc to Tintagel, now the high-road.

William of Worcester found the name of "Sancta MENE-FREDA¹ virgo non martir" in the kalendar of Bodmin Priory, under the date 24th November. There is a parish on a creek of Milford Haven in Pembroke called *Minwere* or *Minwear*. Mr. Wade-Evans tells me that "Minwear, locally pronounced *Minner*, seems to be a saint's name. There is also Minerton in the parish of St. Florence, which Minerton may involve *St. Mynwer*. Can the name *Florence* be an attempted translation or description of the female St. Mynwer (= my Fair One)? It looks as if Minwear is the same as the Cornish Minver."

Nicholas Roscarrock gives us the following legendary account of St. Minver, which contains some interesting local traditions.

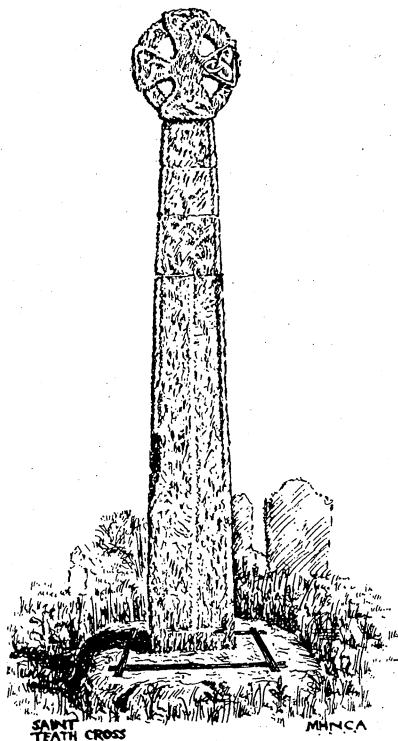
"Of St. Menfre Miniuer menefride and also wenefred. Saint Menfre as I finde in St. Nectan's life, was his and St. Endelient's sister, and the daughter of St. Brechanus, wch wee haue so often named, by his wife Gladhuse and she lived an Austeere life in Trigg hundreth in Cornwall, in the verie same Parish wch now beareth her name, and where there was a fayre Church builded over her wch is som half a mile distant from the place, where she was said to live, wch at this daye is called Tredresick, where, in my time I remember ther stode a Chappell also dedicated to her, being less than two miles from the place, where her sister St. Endelient lived, both Parishes joyning together. And there is also a well of her name, where it is sade the Ghostlye Aduersarie Coming to Molest her, as she was combing her head by the said well, she slinging her combe at him inforced him to flye, who left a note behinde him in a place called at this daye Topalundy, where on the Topp of a rounde high Hill, there is a straunge deepe Hoale,² as (men there haue by Tradition) then made, by the Devill, in avoyding St. Menfre;" Roscarrock here defends himself at some

¹ In Bishop Stapeldon's Register, *Sancta Minfreda*.

² "This hole still remains on the top of a cliff in Lundy between St. Minver and Endellion."—C.G.H.

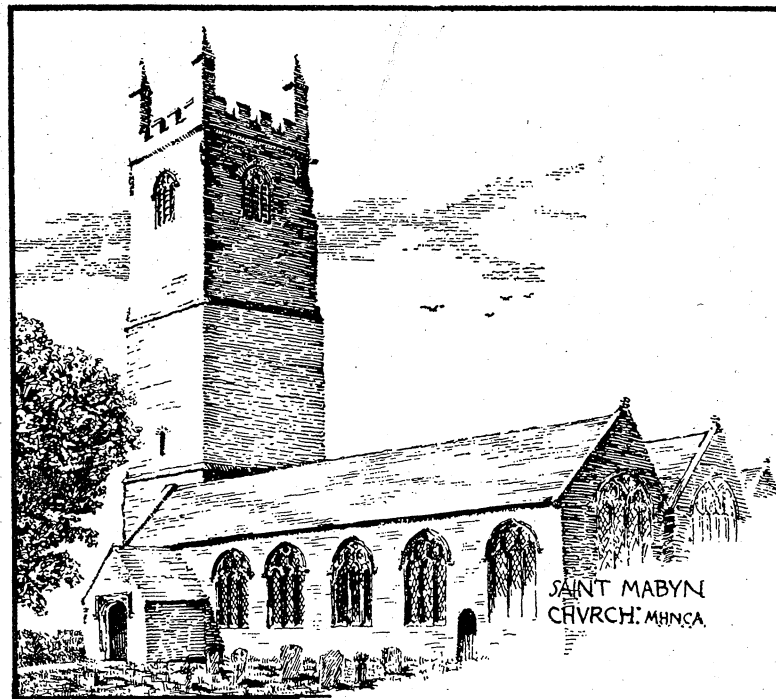
length against the charge of credulity, and accuses Mr. Carew of "erreverent" and "erreligious Scorning" in his treatment of the popular beliefs about the holy well of St. Keyne and "St. Nunns or Nonitaes well." He continues "But to returne to St. Menever or Menfre, who I think in a welsh Petegree wch I have is called Wenefred, different from St. Bennoes (Beino's) Ghostlie childe, wch giveth name to St. Wenefred's well, in fflintshire. Reed St. Brechanus and St. Nectans. Her ffeast is on the 23rd of Nouember and she lived about the yere 550."

Of St. TEATH (Tedda in William of Worcester, Leland and Nicholas Roscarrock) nothing is known. The latter says her feast was on 1st May. There are fairs at St. Teath on the last



Tuesday in February and the first Tuesday in July. A small collegiate church existed at St. Teath in the Middle Ages, and a will of 1408 records a bequest "al heremyt de Steth."¹

ST. MABYN. Nicholas Roscarrock has an interesting note on St. Maben and the church dedicated in her honour.



ST. MABYN.

(MS. Add. 3041. Cambridge University Library. Fo. 296v.)

of St. Maben.

Nov. 18. Ano: 550. Saint Maben or Malem for so she is called in St. Nectan's life was the daughter of St. Brechanus by his wife Gladhuse and sister of St. Endeliant, St. Memfre, Miniver or Menifred, and the

¹ "But this almost certainly refers to Shute in East Devon."—C.G.H. For S. Teath, M. Loth suggests the *S. Tethwiw* mentioned in the Cartulary of Redon, which speaks of "the relics of Sanctus Thetvius." (See Noms des SS. Bret., 119).

rest of his children; unto this St. Maben there hath bene anciently a Church bearing her name, dedicated unto her in Cornwall four miles from Bodmen or Bodman, and thre from St. Endelient; the Church of which St. Maben being newe builded about the yere of our Lord 1500, there was I have heard from the report of such as lived there at that time, a song or Hyme sung of her signifying that she had twentie three brothers and sisters whereof St. Endelient and St. Menever were twoe, wh. is confirmed in St. Nectan's life, as you maye see both in St. Brechanus life, and in St. Nectan's hereafter. And yet I doe not finde her named in the booke of Landaff, nor in anye other welsh Pedegre: By reason whereof I gather, that shee hath some other Name amongst the Welsh. Reed St. Brechanus and St. Nectan: Her feast is kept at the forenamed Church where it is likely that she lived and dyed November the 18 about the yere 550.

There seems to have been a cult of St. Maben outside the parish named after her, as we have seen that she appears in one of the XVIth century windows of St. Neot's church.

Baring-Gould and Fisher (*Lives of the British Saints*, vol. III p. 390) say that there is a holy well at Treveglos, a quarter mile north of the churchtown in St. Mabyn parish. There is a fair at St. Mabyn on 15th February.

The name *Mabon* is found in Wales, at Llanfabon in Glamorgan (there was also at one time a chapel of Llanfabon on the Alaw in Anglesey.) In Denbigh there is a Rhiw Fabon (=Mabon's Ascent), now Ruabon. There is a Kermabon in Brittany (Morbihan.) A clerk called Mabon is found in the Book of Llandaff (p. 209.) The name appears in Cornwall at *Tremabyn* in Lanivet, and *Trevabyn* in St. Hilary. *Carvabyn* is in St. Teath.¹

WENNA is the patron of the parish of St. Wenn, where there is said to be have been a holy well of the Saint—at Treganetha; and of a chapel in St. Kew.² St. Wenn is also the patron of Morval, near Looe, which belongs to the group of South Cornwall parishes whose patron saints are "Children of Brychan" according to the Welsh list.

¹M. Loth writes: "Mabyn is beyond all doubt Mabon."

²"It stood near Pergenna. John Huda had a license for it in 1379, and Robert Escote in 1425, together with an oratory in his own house at *Pengymbe* (Penggenna)."—C.G.H.

There was a chapel of St. Wenn at Chirestowe¹ (now Cherstowe) in Hartland parish, which was given to the Abbey by Geoffrey de Dynam in the XIIth century "with the land that was anciently called 'St. Wenn's Acre.'"

There was also a place in Lanteglos parish called *Trewenna*, as William and John Trewenna are found in the Subsidy Roll of 1327 already referred to.² We have already met with Gwenn, daughter of Brychan, in the Welsh lists of Brychan's children. For *Alba Trimammis*, the mother of St. Winwaloe, I must refer the reader to my booklet on that saint.

I have dealt with CLEDER in No. 24 in my "Cornish Saints" series.

It is interesting to note that KERY³ is perhaps the éponyme of a parish in Montgomeryshire—*Kerri* or Llanvihangel yng Ngherri, where St. Michael is now the patron saint.⁴ Perhaps Kery, as Mr. Henderson suggests, is the éponyme of Cheristowe in Hartland (see above).

¹"Capellam Sancte Wenne de Chirestowe cum terra que antiquitus appellata est Acra Sancte Wenne." (Oliver's *Monasticon*, p. 207). Geoffrey at the same time gave the Abbey "all the chapels within the parish of the same church of St. Nectan with all their appurtenances and liberties and free customs." It is interesting to find these ancient chapels with their "liberties and customs." Their dedications are given in Bishop Stafford's Register in 1400. They were dedicated to St. James, Holy Cross, St. Mary, St. Martin, and St. Michael, but may originally have had Celtic dedications. Other chapels are mentioned dedicated to St. Leonard, St. Andrew, and St. John. *Chirestowe* suggests a saint's name, as *stow* generally follows the name of a saint, or at any rate has a religious significance.

²"Near Trenant in Egloschayle was a place called *Fentonwenna* in 1538,—possibly the Well of St. Wenna."—C.G.H. M. Loth says that *Trewenna* may contain the name *Winnow*, and Saint Wenna may be S. Winnow.

³M. Loth thinks that the name St. Quiry in Plounevezel in Brittany may be the same name as the Welsh Ceiri. We note that Egloskerry adjoins South Petherwin, where the famous Welsh saint Patern, the companion of St. David and St. Teilo, is patron. The whole of North and East Cornwall is full of Welsh influence.

⁴Wade-Evans, Par. Wall. 26. "Cury (St. Corentin) near Helston, is called Egloscurry or Egloskerry in many documents from 1500—1700. Egloskerry in Trigg is styled 'the Chapel of St. Keria of Egloskerry' in Bishop Oldham's Register, 1506."—C.G.H.

PART II.

ST. KEYNE AND THE CHILDREN OF BRYCHAN IN SOUTH CORNWALL.

We have seen that the Welsh lists of Brychan's Children¹ expressly mention one of them—Berwyn—as honoured “in Cornwall.” Nobody knew *where* in Cornwall Berwyn was honoured until Mr. Wade-Evans discovered that Berwyn is the *Barry* who is the patron saint of the church of Fowey. I have dealt with this saint in my booklet on St. Neot (No. 21 in this series, pp. 32, 33), to which I must refer the reader. (See also Wade-Evans, *Brychan Brycheiniog*, p. 9.) But there are at least four other saints in this part of Cornwall belonging to the same group.

Of these the best known is St. Keyne, as she is called in Cornwall. We have already met with her (see p. 6) as “*Kein*,” or “*Cain Breith*, daughter of Brychan.”

Everyone who has visited Cornwall has heard of St. Keyne, owing to the amusing legend told about the holy well in St. Keyne parish near Liskeard, made famous by Southey's ballad.²

THE WELL OF ST. KEYNE.

By the late Robert Southey, LL.D., Poet Laureate.

A well there is in the West Country,
And a clearer one never was seen :
There is not a wife in the West Country
But has heard of the Well of St. Keyne.

An oak and an elm tree stand beside,
And behind does an ash tree grow,
And a willow from the bank above
Droops in the water below.

A traveller came to the Well of St. Keyne,
Joyfully he drew nigh,
For from cock-crow he had been travelling,
And there was not a cloud in the sky.

¹ See p. 6.

² The well was famous in Queen Elizabeth's reign, as Carew (*Survey of Cornwall*, pp. 305, 306) says it had been “pictured,” and quotes a short ballad about its properties which had been printed under the picture. See also M. and L. Quiller Couch, *Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall*, pp. 107, f.

He drank of the water so cool and clear,
For thirsty and hot was he ;
And he sat down upon the bank,
Under the willow tree.

There came a man from the neighb'ring town
At the Well to fill his pail ;
On the Well-side he rested it,
And bade the stranger hail.

“Now art thou a bachelor, stranger ?” quoth he,
“For an if thou hast a wife,
The happiest draught thou hast drunk this day
That ever thou didst in thy life.

“Or has thy good woman, if one thou hast,
Ever here in Cornwall been ?
For if she have, I'll venture my life,
She has drunk of the Well of St. Keyne.”

“I have left a good woman who never was here”
The stranger he made reply,
“But that my draught should be better for that
I pray you answer me why ?”

“St. Keyne,” quoth the Cornishman, “many a time
Drank of this crystal Well ;
And before the angel summoned her,
She laid on the water a spell—

“If the husband, of this gifted Well
Should drink before his wife,
A happy man henceforth is he,
For he shall be master for life !

“But if the wife should drink it first,
God help the husband, then !”
The stranger stooped to the Well of St. Keyne
And drank of the water again.

“You drank of the Well, I warrant, betimes !”
He to the Cornishman said :
But the Cornishman smiled as the stranger spake
And sheepishly shook his head.

"I hastened as soon as the wedding was done,
And left my wife in the porch;
But i'faith, she had been wiser than I,
For she took a bottle to Church!"



It is a pity that one who must have played a very important part in the early history of the West of England should now only be known through this childish story, which was of course invented long after the time when the saint lived, and was never intended to be anything but a joke. St. Keyne was the original patron of two Cornish parishes, and of three parishes in South Wales, and at least one in Herefordshire and one in Somerset are called after her (I say "her," assuming for the moment that the tradition that Keyne was a Virgin saint is correct, which is not by any means certain.) She is mentioned in several martyrologies, and also has a Latin *Life*, which is included in the collection of Lives of Saints known as Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Anglie*, most of which were arranged by John of Tynemouth in the XIVth century from older Lives which he found

in monastic libraries in different parts of England. I will begin by giving a translation of this *Life*. The original may be found in Horstman's edition of Capgrave (Oxford, 1901), vol. II, pp. 102—4. It was also printed by the Bollandists in their great *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. 52, Octobris Tom. IV, 8 Oct., pp. 275—7 (ed. Paris, 1865), with a most valuable Introduction and notes, of which I have made full use.

DE SANCTA KEYNA VIRGINE.

"For the Blessed Keyne, Virgin, sprang of royal stock in the western part of Greater Britain. Her father, king of the Breghenocenses was named Braghanus. Now that king had twelve sons and the like number of daughters, all pleasing to God and of holy life. His first-born was Saint Canochus; his first-born daughter Gladus, mother of Saint Cadocus, the second (daughter) Melari, mother of the father of Saint David, Archbishop of Menevia. But omitting the rest, on account of the great length (of the list), we begin at once to write the Life of Blessed Keyne. For before she was born, her mother saw in a vision her bosom full of myrrh and balsam, and her breasts shining with heavenly light. She saw also that she had given birth to a snow-white dove. And afterwards when she (Keyne) was born and her mother was training her with great care, a certain wonderful beauty of spiritual grace appeared in the virgin's face, which shone—sometimes like snow, and sometimes like the brightness of the sun. And when she had reached the age when she might be wedded, and many noblemen sought her hand in marriage; the holy virgin, refusing altogether to be joined to a husband, consecrated her virginity to the Lord by a perpetual vow. For this reason, she who before was called Keyne, was afterwards called in the British language *Keynweiri*, i.e., *Keyne the Virgin*. She finally resolved to leave her native country and to seek a desert place where she might devote herself to contemplation; and setting out on her journey she came beyond the Severn, and finding certain wooded places, she asked the king of that province to give her that solitary place so that she might serve God there; He answered that he would gladly give it, but that the place was filled with such a multitude of serpents that neither man nor beast might live there. The virgin however replied with steadfast courage that she trusted in the help of the Most High and in His Name was willing and able to drive

out all that poisonous multitude. The place was therefore given to the virgin, and, after prostrating herself in prayer, as she was wont, she quickly changed all that offspring of vipers into hard stones. For the stones in the fields and villages there even to this very day bear the form of serpents, as if they had been carved by the sculptor's art. Now after many years had passed, when the fame of the holy virgin had been everywhere spread abroad, and she had visited, and also built, many oratories, Saint Cadocus, visiting Saint Michael's Mount on a pilgrimage, found his aunt Saint Keyna there, and filled with great joy desired to bring her back to her own land, but the people of the land would not permit it. At last, warned by an angel, the holy virgin returned to her native land and made for herself an habitation in a certain hillock at the roots of a certain great mountain, and after pouring forth prayer to God, she caused a well to spring out of the earth, which has given health to many infirm persons (lit. *infirmities*) by the merits of the holy virgin. And when the day of her consummation approached, which had been revealed to her by the Holy Spirit, she saw in a vision of the night as it were a fiery column descending to the floor on which her bed lay—for she was accustomed to sleep on branches of trees laid upon the bare floor. And two angels appeared to her; one of which, coming up to her with great respect, gently took off the hair shirt which she wore and clothed her with a linen chasuble, together with a scarlet tunic, and arraying her as became her dignity with a cloak woven with gold, he said, "Prepare thyself and come with us, that we may bring thee into the kingdom of thy Father." And she, weeping for joy, and wishing to follow the angels, awoke and felt that her body was oppressed with fevers and that her end was near: and calling for Saint Cadocus she said: "This is the place which above all others I love; here shall be my memorial; I will often, if it be permitted, visit this place in the spirit; and it shall be permitted, because the Lord has granted me this place to possess by hereditary right. But it will come to pass that this place will be inhabited by a sinful race, whom I will violently root up from these seats; and my tomb shall lie unknown for many days, till other men shall come whom I by my prayers shall lead here, and whom I shall protect and defend, and in this place the Name of the Lord shall be blessed for ever." And when now her soul was hastening

to leave her body, she saw before her the angelic host ready to receive her soul without fear or danger within the palace of Heaven. And she signified this to those who stood by, and straightway that holy soul was loosed from the body, on the eighth of the Ides of October. And when it left the body, her holy face smiled and assumed a rosy hue, and so great fragrance of sweetness proceeded from her virginal body that all who were present deemed they had been transported with her into the glory of Paradise. Now Saint Cadocus buried her in her oratory, where she (had) lived a life most strict and pleasing to God in holy conversation many years.

The question at once occurs,—Where did John of Tynemouth find this Life of St. Keyne?

It is clear that the author of this Life knew Keynsham in Somerset, on the Avon a few miles before it falls into the Severn, as he obviously refers to the fossils known as *ammonites* which abound in quarries there, and which are still pointed out as the serpents which St. Keyne turned into stone. Keynsham, in Domesday *Cainesham*,¹ was recognized by the Elizabethan antiquary Camden as a foundation of St. Keyne.² A wealthy and important Augustinian abbey was founded there by William, Earl of Gloucester, about 1170, *possibly* because of traditions of there having been formerly a monastery of St. Keyne in that place, but the Abbey was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and SS. Peter and Paul, and there seems to have been no cult of St. Keyne there. (The parish church is dedicated to St. John Baptist.) Her name is not found in any Somerset kalendar.

The author of the original *Vita* (now lost) was familiar with Welsh lists of Brychan's children, and closely followed the *De situ Brecheniauc*. John of Tynemouth, in copying

1 "The King holds Cainesham. T.R.E. it paid geld for 50 hides," etc.

2 "Upon the river Avon . . . is Cainsham, so nam'd from a devout British Virgin (from whom the Keines of this County have thought themselves descended; and whom many of the last age save one, through an over-credulous temper, believ'd to have changed serpents into stones, because they found in the quarries thereabouts some such little sporting miracles of Nature." Camden's *Magna Britannia*, vol. I, p. 94, ed. 1753. (The 1st edition appeared in 1586). (We find a Walter Kene at Keynsham in 1248. *Keynsham Abbey*, by Rev. F. W. Weaver, p. 22.)

it, omitted, in accordance with his universal custom, most of the names of persons and places which it probably once contained—he expressly tells us that he cut short the list of Brychan's children which he found in the manuscript. The author knew South Wales, where two parishes founded by St. Keyne are called *Cain Wryry*. He also knew that St. Keyne was honoured in Cornwall. But the *Life*, as we now have it, does not tell us what we specially want to know, *viz.*, where the hermitage built by St. Keyne “at the roots of a certain great mountain” was, and the question has baffled scholars. The Bollandists could offer no suggestions. Rees (*Essay on the Welsh Saints*, pp. 154—5) under the (probably quite erroneous) idea that Cain and Ceneu were the same person, placed the hermitage near Llangeneu, a parish in the neighbourhood of Abergavenny, and pointed out that near Abergavenny is a hill called Mount St. Michael. But, as I shall show, our author must have read the *Vita Cadoci*, which speaks definitely of St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall. St. Keyne's hermitage might possibly be at Kentchurch, anciently Kynechurch, in Herefordshire, at the foot of the Black Mountains. In the Book of Llandaff (p. 275) Kentchurch is *Lan Cein* (=the Church of Keyne.) We may note that there are two parishes called Llangattock near Kentchurch. But I think it is almost certain that St. Keyne's hermitage and holy well were at Llangeinor in Glamorgan, and that the “mountain” is Mynydd Llangeinor. *Llangeinor* is a corruption of *Llan-gain-wryry*,¹ which, as our author knew, was the name by which St. Keyne was known in Wales, and both the *De situ Brecheniauc* and the *Cognacio Brychan*, as we have seen (p. 6), tell us that Llangeinor on the Ogmores was the chief seat of the cult of St. Cain. It is near Llancarvan, the monastery of St. Cadoc. And there is a holy well on the mountain above Llangeinor² (there is

¹ Wade-Evans, *Parochiale Wallicanum*, p. 50.

² We are indebted to the well-known Glamorgan antiquary, Dr. Hartland of Porthcawl, for this interesting and very important fact. Hardly anyone in Llangeinor knew of the existence of the holy well, as it is high up among the hills. Dr. Hartland, however, had heard of it and wrote to Mr. John Tudor, a farmer on the mountains near Llangeinor, who replied that the Holy Well was at Ffwdog (*Ffawyddog* on the Ordnance Survey map), and that he “remembered his great-uncles used to come from Bleangarw Farm to drink the water.” On April 30th 1930, Dr. Hartland and two friends made a journey to Llangeinor. “After a severe mountain climb which took us an hour and a half from the road, we found the Farm, and by instruction therefrom we

no holy well at Kentchurch.) All this seems to point to Llangeinor as having the best claim to being the place referred to in the *Vita* as being specially under the patronage of St. Keyne.

But who are the “sinful nation” rooted out to give place to “others” who enjoyed the Saint's favour and protection? It is a particularly interesting problem which has hitherto defied solution. I think it indicates a Celtic monastic community, which had lost its original fervour and become worldly and negligent, like those described by Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Itinerary of Wales*.¹ Now Llangeinor belonged, before the Reformation, to the famous Abbey of Margam (more correctly *Margan*) on the Glamorgan coast.²

found the Holy Well. The farmer says that he is sick and tired of all the people who come to the well with complaints. The water turns silver yellow” (which suggests that it contains sulphur.) My kind informant tells me that the situation of the well exactly corresponds with the description of it in the *Vita*; “because, although the well is on the *ustrad* of the mountain, yet it is at the beginning of the great spurs of the coal measure hills.”

¹ At Llanbadarn Vawr, the Great church of St. Paternus, and elsewhere, Giraldus found that local chieftains, calling themselves “defenders” of the Church, had usurped the lands of the Church, “leaving only to the clergy the altars, with their tenths and oblations, and assigning even these to their sons and relations. . . . In this state we found the church of Llanpadarn, without a head. A certain old man, waxen old in iniquity . . . being Abbot, and his sons officiating at the altar.” He goes on to relate how Henry I had endeavoured to put an end to this abuse, by putting the Norman monks of Gloucester Abbey in possession of Llanbadarn, but the latter had recently been expelled by the Welsh. (*Itin.* Bk. II, c. IV, q.v.)

² Dr. Fisher has kindly summarized for me the story of the connection between Llangeinor and Margam Abbey. Llangeinor “is situated in the Lordship of Ogmores, which belonged to the de Londres family of Ewenny. In 1250, by leave of William de Londres, all the land of Llangeinor was let to Margam Abbey for 12 pence per annum (G. T. Clark, *Cartae de Glamorgan*, III. 149). According to the *Valor* of 1535 Margam drew £3 6s. 8d. in rents from Llangeinor, and paid 40s. in return (from 1428) to the Duke of Lancaster. The Prior of Ewenny naturally protested, and did for some period receive the tithes of Llangeinor.”

The Penrice and Margam Abbey MSS. (see *History of Margam Abbey*, by Walter de Gray Birch, pp. 35, 39, 51, 59, 117—133) contain a large number of deeds relating to Llangeinor, which is almost invariably called *Egleskainwir* (= the Church of Cain the Virgin.) “Egleskainwir Grange” where the tithes were stored, is frequently mentioned (*e.g.*, Cnaytho ab Yago and other Welshmen acknowledge the damage committed by them against Margam Abbey at Egleskainwir Grange, amounting to over £60 [a huge sum in those days] and undertake to pay one mark yearly on St. Donat's Day; another Welshman

I think we may conclude that Norman monks from Margam are probably the favourites of St. Keyne for whom we are looking, and that the *Vita* must have been written at Margam Abbey.¹

The Life of St. Keyne is attractively written, in good taste by a practised hand, and is free from the barbarisms which disfigure so many Welsh Lives of Saints. But it is, as the Bollandists point out, late and untrustworthy, derived almost entirely from local traditions of uncertain origin, and its historical value is very small. Moreover, as we have seen, it has been so mutilated that we are left in doubt as to where St. Keyne died, where her tomb and relics were, and what cult was paid her.

The passage which connects St. Keyne with St. Michael's Mount is of special interest. If it were founded on fact it would give us a glimpse into the, at present, almost unknown

"receives in his charge the grange of Eglisken' and the cattle of Margam Abbey to warrant the same against the men of Brechineoch"—(had they forgotten that Cain was a "daughter of Brychan"?) The reader will find here the Grant by William de Lond. to Margam Abbey of "the chapel of Egleskeinwir with the appurtenance between Uggemore and Garwe, for the soul of his father." The monks of Margam had a "right to forestry in the land of Egliskeinwir." A charter of Charles de Elia, Bishop of Landaff, "notifies to the clergy and laity that he has confirmed to Margam Abbey the lands of . . . Egleskeinwir and the chapels of the said place." An earlier deed (before 1183) contains a "notification of William de Londiniis to his homines, English, French and Welsh, that he has granted to Clement, deacon, the chapel of Saint Kehinweher and 20 acres of land, with all tithes of the fee, in frank almoign.")

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the *Vita* which speaks so definitely of the saint as "called in the British language *Keynwiri*." was written at the Abbey which had such close relations with *Egleskeinwir*.

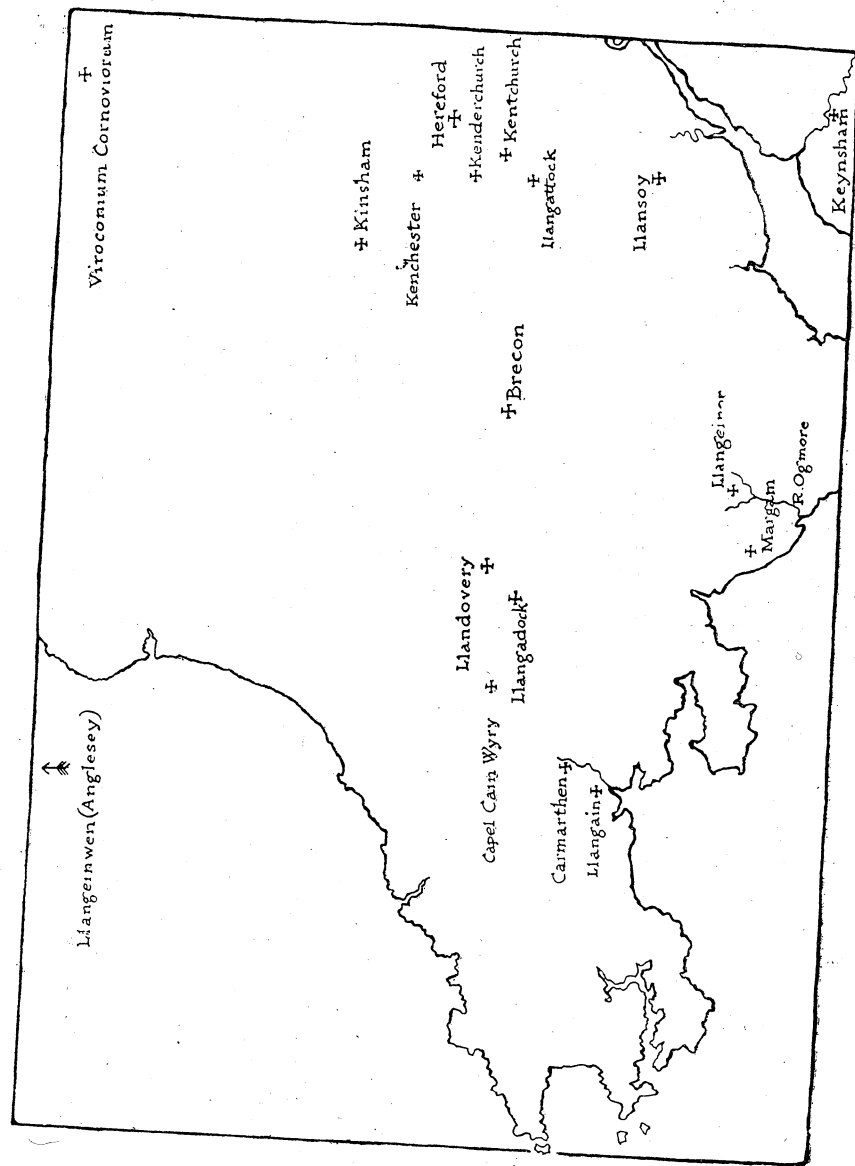
¹A very large number of the *Lives* of Welsh Saints printed by Rees in his *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints* were written in the XIIth century by the new Norman occupants of the ancient South Welsh monasteries. We may observe that there was a connection between Margam Abbey and Keynsham, the former being founded (or rather, re-founded) by Robert, natural son of Henry I and first Earl of Gloucester, who was the father of the William who founded Keynsham. The monks of Margam would thus know, through the family of the Earls of Gloucester and their friends and dependents, about Keynsham and its ammonites. (It is quite possible, of course, that the whole story of St. Keyne and the serpents may be the fabrication of a monk of Margam who was struck by the name *Keynsham*, and that St. Keyne may really have had no connection at all with Keynsham, which would account for there being no cult of her there.)

history of the Mount before the reign of Edward the Confessor. It is, however, only too likely that the incident is inspired by the XIIth century *Life of St. Cadoc*, with which the author of the *Life of St. Keyne* must have been familiar. In c. 26 of the *Vita Cadoci* is a story of how the Saint changed some wolves into stone, which reminds us of St. Keyne's serpents. In c. 27 we read how St. Cadoc visited "the Mount of St. Michael, which is known to be in the region of the Cornishmen and in the idiom of that province is called Dinsol," and on his way back (*not* at the Mount) caused a well to spring up. But Mr. Henderson has shown that this sentence may be only a gloss on a statement in an older *Life of St. Cadoc* which simply mentioned *Dynesel*, now Denzel Downs, a hill quite close to the chapel and holy well of St. Cadoc at Harlyn Bay near Padstow, the only place in Cornwall where St. Cadoc is honoured. St. Michael's Mount must have been a very important monastic centre in Celtic times, but I fear we must remain in doubt as to whether either St. Cadoc or St. Keyne were ever there.¹ We shall see however that two saints mentioned in the *Life of St. Cadoc*, Barry and Wyllow, are honoured close to St. Keyne in Cornwall, and that parishes bearing the name of St. Cadoc are near those bearing the name of St. Keyne in Wales and Herefordshire, so that it is quite likely that Keyne and Cadoc really were associated together.

There is one statement in the *Life of St. Keyne* which is unquestionably true—that she "constructed many oratories." As I have already mentioned, there are at least seven (and probably more than seven) places in the west of England which bear her name. Let us examine each in detail. As the cult of St. Keyne has entirely disappeared, the study of place-names is our only guide for discovering where it formerly existed.

We have seen that the chief centre of her cult appears to have been Llangainor in Glamorgan. There is a *Capel*

¹At the top of the tower of the chapel on St. Michael's Mount is an ancient beacon, which has for centuries borne the name of "St. Michael's Chair." "The ascent to it is dangerous; but it is sometimes ascended out of a foolish conceit, that whosoever sits therein, whether man or woman, will henceforth have the mastery in domestic affairs." (Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, 1814). Since the Lysons wrote, the name of St. Keyne has become associated with this chair. This is a quite modern "tradition," not found (I think) before 1867.



*Cain Wryr*¹ in the parish of Talley or Tal y llycheu in Carmarthenshire, in the Deanery of Llandeilo and *Llangadog*, west of Llandovery and a few miles north-west of Llangadog. In the same county St. Cain is the éponyme of *Llangain*, alias Eglwys Gain and Maenor Gain,² on the estuary of the Towy, between Carmarthenshire and the sea. In Cornwall St. Keyne is the patron of the parish of St. Keyne in the Looe valley, where the famous well is, and she is also the original patron of St. Martin's-by-Looe. I have already dealt with Keynsham. In Herefordshire she is, as the Bollandists point out, the éponyme of Kentchurch, or Kenchurch, originally Kynechurch,³ in the north-west corner of the county, and perhaps of Kensham,⁴ a chapel to Presteigne, on the Radnorshire border. Kenchurch is in the deanery of Irchingfield or Archenfield, which once formed the little Celtic principality of Eric or Erging, the *Orcheus pagus*, from which, we learn in the *Vita Mevenni*, St. Mewan came. The name Kynechurch is clearly framed on the model of Michaelchurch, Peterchurch, Dewchurch, etc., which are all in this neighbourhood, and must mean *the church of Kyne*. We have found its Welsh name, *Lan cein*, in the Book of Llandaff. Adjoining Kynechurch is Kenderchurch, which seems, as I have shown, to commemorate a grand-child of Brychan (see pp. 6, 17). In the Book of Llandaff (p. 277, cf. 275) is *lanncinitir lann i cruc*, i.e., "The *llan* of Cynidr, the *llan*

¹ *Par. Wall.*, p. 33.

² *Par. Wall.*, p. 26.

³ Ecton's *Thesaurus Rerum Eccl.*, p. 213.

⁴ *ib.*, p. 217. Professor Mawer, Secretary of the English Place-name Society, tells me they have no ancient forms for the Herefordshire Kinsham. Not far away is a parish called *Kenchester*, (1086 *Chenecestre*. 1154 *Kenecestria*) where there was a Roman town called Magnis—four Roman roads met there. Near Watchet in Somerset is a place called *Kentsford* (1278—84, *Keneford* and *Kanesforde*, also *Canesford*, 1444 *Keynesford*.) Professor Mawer does not think either of these places are called after a saint, but they certainly seem to contain the name *Keyne*. He also tells me that "the earliest form for *Keynsham* is *Caeginesham* (the MS. of Ethelweard in which this reference to Keynsham is found is c. 1100, but there is no reason to think that the forms in it are as late as that, they belong rather to about 1000, the date of Ethelweard himself.) I do not think it is very likely that *Keynsham* can contain a saint's name; I know of no other example of *ham* compounded with a saint's name, nor does it seem likely that it can contain the particular saint's name in question, for as she was a woman, the possessive case should not be formed with an 's.'" He adds that "the feminine personal name *Cain* (in Welsh *cain*=*beautiful*) occurs in the Book of Llandaff."

of the mound." *Dewchurch* means *the church of Dewi* or David,¹ who was the grandson of another daughter of Brychan, according to the Welsh lists. The two parishes of Much Dewchurch and Little Dewchurch are a few miles to the east, between Kenchurch and Hereford. There are two Llangattocks (as I have pointed out) close by, and the whole neighbourhood abounds in Celtic dedications and place-names. The deanery of Archenfield is quite close to Brecknockshire, which tradition says was Keyne's place of origin.²

There are two parishes in Cornwall where St. Keyne is, or used to be, the patron saint. One is the small parish of St. Keyne between Liskeard and Looe, where the famous holy well is. In Domesday it formed the manor of Lantmatin, (now Lametton.) In the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1288 the *Ecclesia Sancte Kayne* (Sancta Kayna 1372, St. Kayne 1613) was assessed at £1. In 1840 the glebe consisted of 30 acres, and the Tithes were commuted at £143. The patron of the living in 1318 was Philip de Lametton. In the parish there is a place called Lacrenton, which in 1245 we find written *Lanquerenthyn*, which must mean the "*lan* (monastery or hermitage) of St. Corentin." This is particularly interesting, as it suggests a connection between St. Keyne and the famous St. Corentin, one of the seven saints of Brittany, by tradition the first Bishop of Armorican Cornwall.

St. Keyne was also originally the patron of the parish of St. Martin's-by-Looe. In 1288 this parish is called Ecc. Sci. Martini, and assessed at £9 6s. 8d. In 1547 it is "St. Martin next East Looe, otherwise called Kayne the More." In the *Valor* of 1536 it is "Saynt Kayn juxta Loo alias Martyn." In 1547 we find the will of "John Rysse, Clerk, Parson of St. Martin next East Looe, otherwise called Kayne the More"; (he was instituted in 1516.) In the *Valor* of 1541 reference is made to two parishes in the Hundred of

¹ Mr. Wade-Evans thinks that the Dewi of Dewchurch need not necessarily be the same as the great St. David. There is at least one important local Dewi mentioned in the Book of Llandaff.

² Mr. Wade-Evans has very kindly sent me the following notes on the cult of St. Cain in Wales. "*Llangeinwen* in Anglesey (in the same deanery as Llanddwyngen, where another daughter of Brychan is commemorated—there is also a Cerrig Ceinwen, in Leland's time *Llangeinwen Vechan*, in Llangristiolus, close by) may certainly stand for "the Church of Cain Wen"—the *Kein breit* of the *Cognacio Brychan*, which must mean "Bright Cain," the *Kenwyn* ("Keynwen, the earliest spelling") of Cornwall. See *Cornish Church Guide*, p. 117."

West, called respectively "Saynt Kayn and Seynt Kayn juxta Loo." In the terrier of the latter parish, dated 1727 we find it called "St. Kayn alias St. Martins."¹

We have found a *Ceinwen* in Anglesey, and have seen that it contains the name of our saint. There is a parish of *Kenwyn* in Cornwall, near Truro, and Mr. Henderson has pointed out that St. Keyne's Feast falls on the day before Kenwyn Feast. There is a well in the churchyard at Kenwyn, near the porch, which may be a third "Well of St. Keyne." There is a Boskenwyn in Wendron.

I think, then, we may conclude that St. Keyne² belonged to a band of missionaries who came from the kingdom founded by Brychan in mid-Wales in the Vth century, after the Roman rule in Britain had disappeared. They made settlements in the country east of Brecknock which is now called Herefordshire. From there St. Keyne visited South Wales, Somerset and Cornwall, and founded monastic establishments in all three countries. It seems difficult to believe that a woman could, in those wild ages, travel so far, and found so many settlements, and St. Keyne may quite well have been a man, in spite of the later universally accepted tradition of *Cain Wryr*. (Of course there may have been more than one saint of the name, and Cain Wryr may have been so called to distinguish her from the others.) The early Celtic missionaries preferred to travel by water, as quicker, safer, and more convenient, and all the chief monastic establishments are on or near tidal rivers. We note that Llangain is on a tidal river. So is Keynsham, and so are the Keyne parishes in Cornwall. A very curious fact is that several of the places bearing St. Keyne's name are near the sites of Roman villas, roads and camps. If the reader will glance at the excellent *Map of Roman Britain* published by the Ordnance Survey, he will find a "permanent fort" at Maridunum (Carmarthen) near Llangain, another at Llan-

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Charles Henderson for these facts.

² Haddan & Stubbs (*Councils*, I, 156, 7) consider St. Keyne to be one of the "saints of whom no reliable evidence can be found that they ever existed at all." No doubt they were thinking of the story of St. Keyne and the serpents at Keynsham. This I have shown to have been probably an invention of a monk of Margam, but it is impossible to account for the existence of two parishes in Cornwall, at least one in Herefordshire and three in Wales bearing the name of Keyne, if there was no such saint. As the word *cain*=*beautiful*, a well called Ffynon-gain might mean "The beautiful well," but Kentchurch, Egloskeyn-wryr, etc., could not similarly be explained.

dovery, and a Roman Gold Mine at Dolaucothly, not far from Talley; a permanent fort at Clyro on the Wye between Brecon and Hereford, and a Roman town at *Kenchester*, where four Roman roads met, west of Hereford, with a villa close by. A Roman villa has been found a little west of Kentchurch. The country between Bath and Bristol is studded thickly with Roman villas,—Dom Ethelbert Horne, Prior of Downside, excavated one at Keynsham a few years ago, and another has since been found there. In the neighbourhood of Llangeinor is a Roman road, with a mile-stone, and two places where “finds” have been made. The Saint must have lived before the battle of Deorham in 577, when the country round Keynsham fell into the hands of the West-Saxons, and may have ministered to populations which still inhabited the Roman centres of civilization.¹

Besides the Latin *Vita* I have translated, and the references to the saint in the three Welsh lists of the Children of Brychan, there are practically no authorities for the life of St. Keyne. Her name is found in Richard Whitford's Martyrology, printed at London in 1526. Castellanus, in his *Martyrologium Universale* mentions “in Anglia, St. Keyna, socrus (*sic*) S. Cadoci.” Wilson in his Martyrology (1640) gives a short Life of St. Keyne, which is merely a *résumé* of the Latin *Vita*, but adds that she died about 480, and that “in her province her memory is still celebrated” (though he does not tell us *where*.) Alford in his *Annales Ecclesiae Britannicae* gives the same date. All these writers, and every other hagiographer who mentions St. Keyne (*e.g.*, Colgan), clearly depend on the *Vita* in Capgrave for their information, and really know nothing which is not in that. The date given by Wilson and Alford is of course a pure guess, though the saint, as I have shown, probably belongs to the earliest period.

We have seen that Berwin or Barry is the patron saint of Fowey. In the *Life of St. Cadoc*, the great saint of Llancarvan in South Wales, we find a saint named WALEES associated with Barry (*c.* 25 of the *Vita Cadoci* describes how they were drowned in the Severn.) Mr. Wade-Evans finds the name *Walís* off St. David's and at Fishguard, Ambleston and Pwllcrochan in Pembrokeshire, and at Llanpumpsaint in

¹This and similar statements about Keynsham need to be qualified in view of the doubts I have expressed on pp. 42 and 45.

Carmarthenshire. and *Wallas* near Bridgend in Glamorgan. “He seems to be the St. Willeus of Lanteglos by Fowey.” When William of Worcester was at Fowey he had a conversation with one Robert Bracey, who gave him a considerable amount of information about the saints venerated in the neighbouring parishes. From him he learnt that Saint Vylloc, hermit and martyr, was born in Ireland [and was patron] of Lanteglos . . . and that the feast of the said saint was kept up on the Thursday before the feast of Pentecost,” and that “Saint Wyllow was decapitated by *Melyn ys kinrede* . . . and carried (his head) for the space of half a mile to the place where the said church is founded in his honour.” In 1538 Leland found a chapel of St. Willow at the head of the creek near *Lamelin*. (William clearly got a little mixed, as Melyn must be the name of a saint, not that of a persecutor.) The original church of Lanteglos, which must be a corruption of *Nanteglos* (=Valley Church) may have been in the valley, underneath the present church, at the head of the little creek which runs into the Fowey estuary, just opposite the town of Fowey. It is quite what we should expect that the two companions should build churches so close to each other.

Adjoining the two Keyne parishes is that of Morval, dedicated to St. WENN, also a daughter of Brychan.

Between Lanteglos and St. Keyne we find the parish of Lanreath,¹ originally Lanredoch. The éponyme of this parish seems to be the “RYDOCH, i. Judoc, filius Brachan in Francia” of the *De Situ Brecheniauc*. There was a well-known Breton saint Judocus, popularly St. Josse, patron of one of the parish churches of the *Ville* of Paris, and of St. Josse-sur-mer, near Etaples, in Picardy, which is certainly “in Francia.”² There is an VIIIth century *Vita Judoci*, in which however he is the son of King Juthael, not Brychan, and leaves his country to go to Ponthieu. He makes a pilgrimage to Rome and dies soon after his return, about 668. In the former bishopric of Dol is a parish of Saint-Judoc.

¹There is a Llanreath in South Wales, west of Pembroke Dock.

²*Josse* became a very popular Christian name in Flanders. The celebrated picture *The Adoration of the Lamb*, by Hubert and John Van Eyck, in Ghent Cathedral, was painted for Josse Vydt and his wife, whose portraits appear on the outside of the wings of the tryptich. The name *Josse* or *Judocus* will be found on many 16th and 17th century tombs at Ghent and Bruges. There is a St. Josse in the outskirts of Brussels.

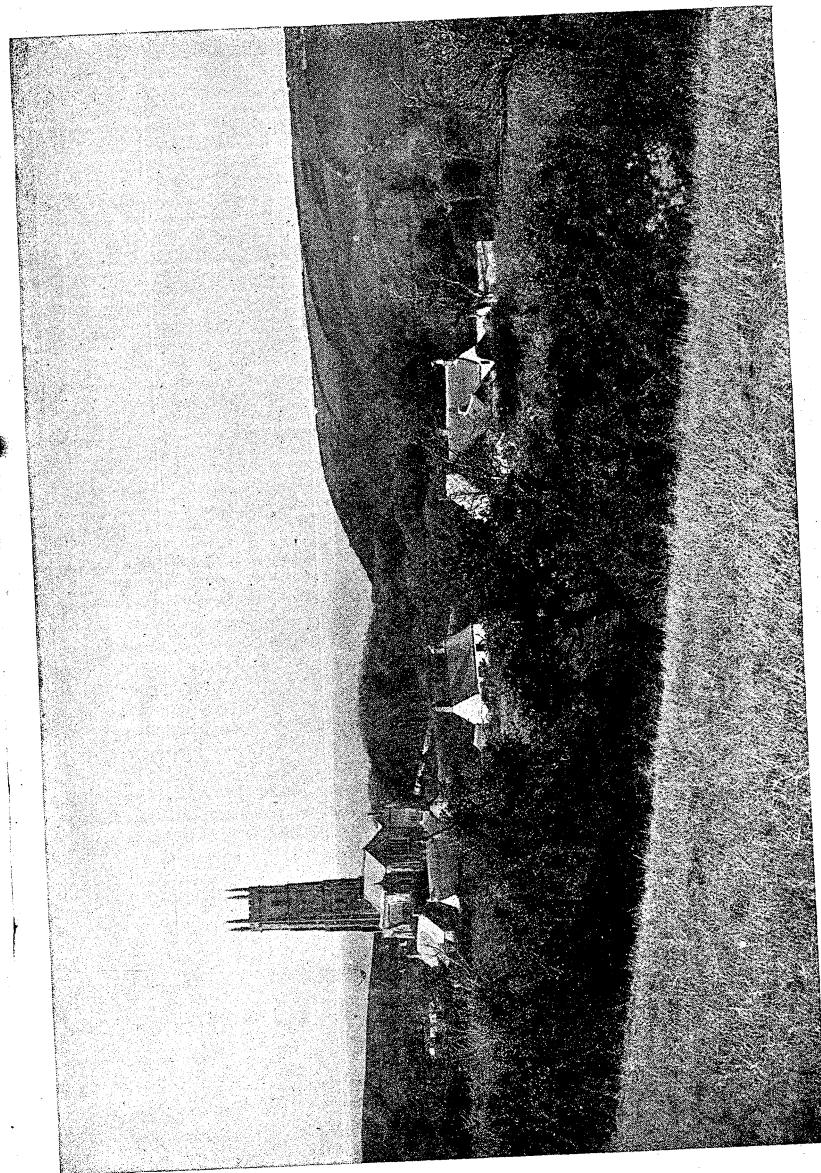
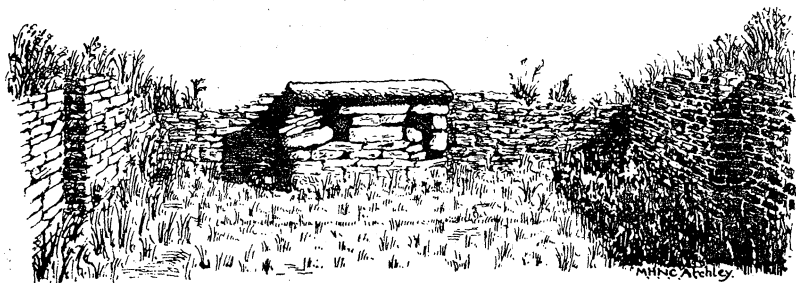
He is the patron of Yvias (Côtes-du-Nord), and M. Loth sees his name in Lohuzec in the parish of Plougras in the same Department, and at St. Uzec in Pleumeur-Bodou, where "there is a curious menhir of St. Uzec, by the chapel of that name." There is a Parc Saint Judec in Lohuec.¹ For Rydoch I must refer the reader to Mr. Wade-Evan's *Brychan Brycheiniog*, pp. 9 and 10.²

I conclude this study of the Children of Brychan in Cornwall with a suggestion, which may be of interest. We have seen that most, if not all, of the saints of North and East Cornwall came from Wales, and many of them from Brecknock. Let the reader turn to the map of Roman Britain, and he will see that close to the borders of Brecknock lay the important Roman town of Viroconium Cornoviorum (Wroxeter). It is a well-known fact that the tribe of the Cornovii, who gave their name to Cornwall, moved from Central Wales to the end of the Damnonian peninsula about the IVth or Vth century. May not the fact that so many places in East Cornwall are called after the "Children of Brychan" have some connection with the great migration which gave Cornwall its name?

¹ Loth, *Noms des Saints Bretons*, p. 66.

² It may be observed that the next parish to Lanreath is Pelynt, which is a corruption of Plou-Nonnita. Now we have seen (p. 6) that Nunyd, or Ninid, was a daughter of Brychan. Linkinhorne, not far away, is under the patronage of S. Melor, and we find a *Melari* (see p. 6) was another daughter of Brychan. There may possibly have been some confusions and substitutions of cult in the case of these two parishes.

THE CHAPEL,
TINTAGEL CASTLE.



HARTLAND PARISH CHURCH

(By kind permission of Mr. R. Pearse Chope).

THE CULTUS OF ST. NECTAN OR ST. NIGHTON IN CORNWALL.

BY CHARLES HENDERSON, M.A., *Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*

ST. NIGHTON IN NORTH CORNWALL.

Hartland, the bluff headland at the extreme north western point of Devon was the centre of the *Cultus* of St. Nectan. Here was his shrine tended by the monks of his monastery; here during the Middle Ages was an important Abbey of Augustinian Canons acknowledging him as their patron and spreading his fame to churches and chapels over which they had control. Stoke, the parish church of Hartland, bears the name of Stoke St. Nectan to this day. Welcombe, a daughter parish of Hartland, also claims St. Nectan¹ for its patron and shows a Holy Well² in his honour close to the church.

In Cornwall, the principal possession of Hartland Abbey was the church and manor of Launcells near Stratton. Launcells appears in Domesday as *Landseu*, when it was one of the manors belonging to Aluredus (Pincerna.) It had probably been a small landowning monastery (*Lan-selys*) in Celtic times and found its way back to the church in 1269, when Matilda de *Launceles* gave it to the Abbey of Hartland. Launcells church is under the patronage of St. Andrew. He is given as patron of it in 1402.

Coming further down the North Coast of Cornwall we find that in the XIIth century William de Boterell, Lord of Boterel's Castle, now Boscastle, gave the adjacent church of *Forbiri* (Forrabury) to the Abbey of Hartland. This gift was confirmed by Richard I in 1189 (*Oliver's Monasticon*, p. 207.) Forrabury, however, was never appropriated to the Abbey but remained a Rectory. The Abbey contented itself with nominating the Rectors and drawing a pension of seven shillings out of the benefice which continued to be paid until the Dissolution of the monasteries (1539.) The patron saint of Forrabury church is unknown. Those who assert that it is St. Symphorian have no better evidence than a passage from Leland's *Itinerary* (1538) wherein he

refers to the church of Boscastle as "St. Simpherian" and later to the church of Tintagel as "St. Simphorian or Simiferian." It is quite clear that he was referring in the first instance not to Forrabury but to Minster, which is the parish church of Boscastle and, like Tintagel, claims St. Mertherian for patron. St. Mertherian might well sound like "St. Simpherian" to a stranger's ear. I have gone into this question at length because I think it possible that Forrabury may have been a St. Nectan church.

About a mile and a half from Forrabury towards Tintagel is a deep wooded glen opening out into the sea near Bossinney Haun. At the head of the glen is a very fine cascade of water forty or fifty feet in height. The rock over which it falls has been hollowed out into two natural basins and the lower of these bears the name of *St. Nighton's Kieve*. A keeve is the name for a large tub or vessel used for brewing. On the rock or cliff above the water-fall is a cottage built on the site of what in Maclean's day, 1860 (Trigg Minor III, 248) were "the ruins of a small building about 25 feet by 12 feet" and "locally supposed to have been a chapel." Maclean, however, failed to notice any thing of an ecclesiastical nature about it. The poet Hawker, however, seized upon the place as the subject for a poem, "The Sisters of St. Nectan's." Since then a whole cycle of modern legends,¹ has grown up round the place. The only thing ancient about it, however, seems to the name, St. Nightons, and if this is really old it follows that there was a chapel of the saint here. Unfortunately I have failed to find any reference to the place in ancient documents.

As Mr. Doble has shown, St. Nectan or Nighton was regarded by mediaeval hagiographers as the leader of the Children of Brychan, whose churches are nearly all in Trigg between Padstow and Hartland. It is curious therefore that the only certain shrines of the Saint in Cornwall lay outside that region, namely St. Nighton's Church near Lostwithiel, and St. Nighton's Chapel in Newlyn, near Newquay.

ST. NIGHTON'S NEAR LOSTWITHIEL.

On the high ground east of Lostwithiel, near the edge of Boconnoc Park, is a small church standing alone in the fields.

¹ This is, alas ! only too true of the whole neighbourhood of Tintagel.

¹ See Bishop Oldham's Register, 1515.

² One can get a good photograph of this well on a postcard at the Church.

This is St. Nighton's,¹ now a mere Chapel-of-Ease to St. Winnow a couple of miles away, on the banks of the Fowey estuary.

St. Winnow (or St. Winnoc's) was clearly an important church in Celtic times and seems to have controlled a large area, including four chapels, Boconnoc and Bradoc (which have been independent parishes since the XIIIth century), Resprynn (St. Martin's) desecrated at the Reformation, and St. Nighton's which still remains subject to it. St. Nighton's, however, enjoyed a greater measure of independence at one time than it does now. It was the only Chapel of the four, that had a Celtic dedication. It has also Glebe land of its own, which Resprynn does not seem to have had.

In Domesday Book (1085) *San Winnuc* (St. Winnow) appears as one of the manors of the See of Exeter. Bishop William (Briwere) in 1239 gave the church of *St. Wynnocus* to his Chapter at Exeter (*Archives of D. and C.*) In 1284 Robert Fitzwalter, lord of the neighbouring manors of Langunnet and Manely, sold the advowson of the Chapel of St. Nectan near St. Wynnnow to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter for £20 (*Ped. Fin.*) But this was probably the sale of some rights over the Chapel rather than of the Advowson proper, for in 1279 and 1280, when two Reeves of Boconnoc in the interest of their Master Sir Thomas de Kancia entered the limits of the *parish* of St. Nectan, and carried off the Tithes of Corn, it was the Dean and Chapter of Exeter who took proceedings against them. St. Nighton's, like St. Winnow, Boconnoc and Bradoc, was a Peculiar of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, in which their Official did all the business which fell to the Archdeacon in other places, *e.g.*, the holding of Courts, probate of wills, infliction of penances, etc.

Among the Archives of Exeter Cathedral is a very interesting Survey of the Chapter's benefices made in 1281. When the Commissary visited *St. Winnoc* he was told that there was a Glebe of one ferling² at *St. Nectan* of which the Vicar (of St. Winnow) had two English Acres and the rest belonged to the Dean and Chapter (as Rectors) who set it to a farmer for 8d. The following is the list of the church goods there at that time.

"*Item ad Capellam Sancti Nectani est j missale vetus insuffi-*

¹ The earliest mention of St. Nighton seems to be a deed of c. 1250 at Mount Edgcumbe which refers to it as *Nictanus*.

² *i.e.* a Fourth Part of a Cornish Acre (120 English Acres.)

ciens; j calix argenteus deauratus ponderis di: marc: ; j par vestimentorum plenor'; j par Corporalium; ij tualle benedictie and j non benedicta; j jeola; fontes competentes, b campana bona."

A jury of local men informed the Commissary that Martin Le Wal, the Reeve of *Boskennoc* (Boconnoc) and Roger de Torkbi, a *native* (villein) of Sir Thomas de Kent and now Reeve there, came in the autumn of 1279 to the parish of *St. Nyctanus* within the limits of the parish (of St. Winnow) and carried off the sheaf Tithes belonging to the Dean and Chapter, *viz.*, about 15 Bushels and half a quarter of oats. And in the following year, the familiars and men of the said Sir Thomas came and carried off the Tithes of one acre of wheat and four acres of oats as aforesaid.

In addition to the dispute about the parish boundary, the relations between the people of St. Nighton and their Vicar at St. Winnow were so uneasy that in 1321 they asked Bishop Stapeldon to intervene and make a settlement. Among the Chapter Archives is an instrument whereby, on Friday before St. Matthew's day, 1321, at St. Veep, Philip de Combe, Clerk, was appointed to lay the cause of these "parishioners of *St. Nectan* Chapel" before the Bishop. The farms which the complainants occupied¹ are given as *Downad* (Dawna), *Delwyddel* (Dalawhidden), *Aysse* (Ashton), *Leghe* (Ley), *Craftis Combe* (Combe), *Trewegga* (Trevego), *Bodou* (Bawdoe), *Attewylle* or *La Wyllle* (Tawell), *Bryn* (Bren), *Pennaveron* (Penavarra), *Collawode* (Colwood), *Tretharep* (Tredarrup), and *St. Nectan* (St. Nighton.)

The Bishop's Official settled the matter at Exeter in 1322 and Reginald, the Vicar of St. Winnow, agreed to his award.

In 1331 another Visitation was held by the Official of the Chapter and he reported thus: "There are some of the parish of *St. Wynnoc* who are called parishioners of *St. Nectan* where, by composition, they have twelve Masses a year at fixed times. These men at other times withdraw themselves and do not frequent their Mother Church nor do they (except a few of them) contribute to the repair of the Mother Church as they are bound to do. In the said Chapel of *St. Nectan*, those things necessary for the celebrating of Divine Service are defective. It is found that a part of the East Park of *Bodkonok* and a part of the South Park of the same is in the Parish of *St. Nectan*."

¹ Showing the extent of the Parochial District of St. Nighton's.

In 1384 the Chapel of *St. Nectan* became momentarily famous through a very strange incident. While Archbishop Courtenay was holding his Metropolitan Visitation of the See of Exeter,¹ Sir William FitzWalter, Lord of Langunnet (and representative of Sir Robert who had made over the Advowson of *St. Nectan* to the Chapter in 1284 *ut supra*) made an attempt to usurp the patronage of the Chapel. As Bishop Brantyngham and his officials were inhibited and the Archbishop was acting without reference to them, Sir William thought he could create a benefice in his own gift by a fraudulent usurpation. He presented a clerk named Robert Baby to the Archbishop for institution to the "*Rectory of the Parish of St. Nythanus vacant on the death of Sir William the last Rector.*" On April 4th, 1384, the Archbishop, suspecting nothing, admitted Baby on the strength of this presentation and issued a mandate to the Archdeacon of Cornwall and the Vicar of Tywardreath to induct him. This mandate must have mystified its recipients who were perfectly well aware that no such "*Rectory*" existed. They probably communicated with their inhibited Diocesan, Bishop Brantyngham, who thereupon intervened to expose the fraud. But the Archbishop, misled by a fraudulent enquiry and regarding the Bishop's action as merely factious opposition to his Visitation, held to his course and on April 21st, 1384, denounced those who opposed the presentation and ordered the Archdeacon and Vicar to proceed with the induction forthwith. Bishop Brantyngham replied on April 23rd, 1384 with a long indictment of Courtenay's proceedings in which, among other things, he declared that: "*St. Nectan* was no Rectory but a chapel belonging to the parish church of *St. Winnoc* and that Sir William FitzWalter's claim was fraudulent."

We hear no more of this strange affair except that in the Chapter Debit Roll of 1385 (No. 2706) is record of "100s. spent out of the Common Chest in defence of the rights of the Chapel of *St. Nectan* before the Archbishop against *John* Baby striving to be Rector there by the presentation of Sir FitzWalter Knight."

From the list of church goods made in 1549 (Dunkin's Church Bells of Cornwall, p. 53) we glean the following: "*St. Nyghton*. Two Belles yn their towre wherof one Bell is solde by the assent of the whole parishe for mete drynke and horses

¹ In spite of the protests and opposition of the Bishop.

for the carryinge of men of the said parish when they went to resist the last Commocion" (*i.e.*, the Rebellion of 1549 against the Reformation and the new Prayer Book.)

In 1602 a Terrier of *St. Winnow* refers to 15 acres of Vicarial Glebe at *St. Nightons*. In 1613 the Official of the Dean and Chapter reported that the people of *St. Nightons* had allowed their Chapel to be in decay and their churchyard hedge in ruins. Mr. Leach the Vicar was also reported for not saying service in the chapel on any Sunday or holiday during the past six months as had been customary, and for not celebrating Communion at the previous Easter.

In 1628 Bishop Hall had to settle the old dispute about the serving of the chapel. He decided that "each part of the parish should content themselves with resorting to the church of *St. Winnow* in the forenoon and unto the chapel of *St. Nightons* in the afternoon."

In August 1644, during the Civil War, the Earl of Essex and his army (on behalf of the Parliament) were besieged in Lostwithiel by King Charles and his generals. Boconnoc was the King's headquarters for some weeks and the country round *St. Nighton's* was hotly contested, very much to the detriment of the chapel. The Cavaliers threw up a redoubt quite near it and according to tradition the upper stage of the XVth century tower was battered down by the bombardment, the bells being melted down to make ammunition.

In 1779 the Vicar of *St. Winnow* reported that he held a service at *St. Nighton* every Sunday afternoon. Not long after this, about 1820, the chapel was greatly enlarged at a cost of £418. It had previously consisted of a nave 40 feet long (the present south aisle), south porch and western tower, all of early XVth century date. To these were added a nave, chancel and north aisle, thus increasing the size of the building threefold. Why this great enlargement was made is not very clear, for the population of the district is very small and can never have been much larger than it is. The upper stage of the tower is now of wood but the pinnacles and stonework of the old tower destroyed in the Civil War are scattered about. One of these pinnacles can be seen by the side of the Drive from Couch's Mill to Boconnoc.

The round-headed cross of red granite now in *St. Nighton's* churchyard was found at Higher Combe in the neighbourhood and was moved there by the late Richard Foster of Lanwithan.

Nicholas Roscarrock, the hagiologist, writing about A.D. 1600, of "St. Neghton" has this interesting passage:

"Ther was a chapple in the parishe of St. Newlan in Cornwall called St. Neghton's, of the Saint to which it was dedicated, which chapple had a yard belonging unto it in which ther were foure stones on a little mount or hill at the North West Corner wher the Crosses and reliques of St. Pyran, St. Crantocke, St. Cuthbert, St. Newlan were wont to be placed in the rogation weeke at which time they used to meet there, and had a sermon made to the people and the last was preached by Parson Crane in Quene Maries tyme (1553—8) as I have been credibly informed by a priest who had bene often an eye witnesse. The one of these fowre stones beinge taken from thence and turned into a cheese-presse about the yeare 1580 by a gentlewoman named Mistresse Burlace² was in the night tyme carryed back by one, willed so by her after her death or by somethinge assuming her personage and remaineth, I thinke, still wher it did and this I have from reporte of such as were of her kinsfolkes and friends who had cause to know it. I know not what this St. Neghton should bee man or woman, if a man he might perhapes bee that canonized Kinge which Henry the 3 amongst others nameth by the name of Neithan. Mathew Paris Anno 1257."

Now this chapel of St. Nighton is not mentioned by any other writer. Newlyn is a large parish near the north coast of Cornwall, about five miles south of Newquay. As all traces and traditions of the chapel have disappeared in the locality, it is particularly fortunate that two documents are extant which enable us to locate its exact site. These are the "Bounds"³ of the Parishes of Crantock and Cubert as viewed in 1613 and 1630 respectively. The first begins: "*On the south syde neare a Chapell called St. Nighten's Chaple where the branches of three high wayes do meete and boundethe betweene 3 parishes Crantock, St. Newelin and St. Cubert.*"

Cubert "Bounds" are held to begin at "*a straight line drawn from two stones that are sett up in the highwaye on the*

north side of the Chaple called St. Nython, to a great bancke which is a bounde between Trelast (in Cubert) and Rosworra (Rejarra in Newlyn.)"

A glance at the 6 inch Ordnance Survey Map (39 S.E.) shows us that the chapel must have stood in the N.W. corner of the field called Pepper Ground (part of Rejarra) close to the corner where the Newquay road comes up to the road from Newlyn to Cubert. The chapel was wholly in Newlyn parish and its north and west walls constituted parish boundaries. The place was originally a cross-roads, but the fourth road (continuing that from Newquay, down the hill towards Perran) has been abolished and is only recalled by the fact that the parish boundary between Newlyn and Cubert runs through the field 13 feet inside the present hedge, i.e. on the line of the destroyed hedge of the road. The adjacent field in Cubert parish is called Chapel Downs.

Of the chapel, the little "mount" and the Four Stones, there are no remains whatever. The "Mount" was perhaps a Barrow and the stones may have been part of a Dolmen or a cross. That one of them was capable of being misused as a cheese-press suggests that it was circular and about the size of a cross-head.¹

There probably was a cross here; for in the will of John Andrewe of St. Columb Minor dated October 19th, 1470 (P.C.C. Wattys II) is a bequest of 4d. to the store of St. Nectan of Crous Woleck. (*Instauro Sancti Nectani de Crous Woleck.*) St. Nectan can hardly be any other place than this chapel. *Crous* means a cross and *Woleck* may have reference to *Trewolla*, the name of the farm in Crantock which runs up to the cross-roads. It is sometimes written *Trewollac*. In 1503 John Mowla (a native of St. Agnes) left 8d. in his will to the store of St. *Nectanus*, and this again must be a bequest to the chapel near Newlyn.

I have searched the hedges and fields in the vicinity in the hope of finding some stones from the chapel, but I have been disappointed. There is, however, a large piece of "Elvan" forming the top stone of a mounting-block outside Rejarra farm-house which bears a faint resemblance to the *mensa* of an Altar. It was originally about 32½ inches square and 6 inches thick. The front edge is chamfered.

¹Stone cheese-presses are sometimes mistaken for cross-heads. Even Langdon inserted two of them, at Pendarves and Michaelstow in his "Old Cornish Crosses."

¹M.S. University Library, Cambridge, Add. 3041, fo. 323 v.
²The Borlases lived at Treluddra and farmed Rejarra on which the Chapel stood.

³MS. in the Diocesan Registry, Truro.

From the bequests in the two wills above mentioned and the account in Roscarrock's Book, it is clear that the chapel was a shrine of more than local importance. It was clearly in existence long before the parishes came into being and was used as a boundary at which three of them should meet. It was approached by four roads and was probably a place of pilgrimage. In the foregoing account I have gone into the history and geography of this chapel in some detail because no mention of it is to be found in any other book.

CONCLUSION.

Thus we have seen that St. Nighton or Nectan had chapels near St. Winnow and Newlyn, and (possibly) at St. Nighton's Kieve near Tintagel. I cannot find that he was commemorated elsewhere in Cornwall. It is *possible* that the personal name *Nythan* (or Nectan) enters into such names as *Trenython*¹ (in Probus, St. Enoder and St. Keverne) or *Rosenithon* (St. Keverne.) But *Trenython* in Probus is *Treneydhyn* in 1284 and *Treneythin* in 1293. *Rosenithon* is *Rosneython* in 1262, *Eidhin* or *Eithin* is the Cornish for Furze or Gorse, and *Treneythin* is probably the Town (*Tre*) of the (*an*) Furze (*eithin*.) *Parkanython* (*i.e.* Furzy Field) is a very common field-name in Western Cornwall.

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G.H.D.

¹ *Trenython*, near Par, a mansion built by Colonel Peard is, in this instance a modern name.

